

DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

4/20/59

ATTN: RECORDS SECTION

SAC, WFO (100-22189)

HCUA

HCUA has released a report entitled "Report on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, Structure - Objective - Leadership."

Four copies of this publication are enclosed for the Bureau and the Los Angeles Office. All other offices receiving copies of this letter will receive two copies of this report.

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 4)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Diego (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

JAC:lj
(12)

61-7582-4123

REPORT ON THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
STRUCTURE—OBJECTIVES—LEADERSHIP

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

APRIL 3, 1959
(INCLUDING INDEX)



APRIL 3, 1959.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities,
U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

26362

WASHINGTON : 1959

11750 4123

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, *Chairman*,

MORGAN M. MOULDER, Missouri

CLYDE DOYLE, California

EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana

WILLIAM M. TUCK, Virginia

DONALD L. JACKSON, California

GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio

WILLIAM E. MILLER, New York

AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

Union Calendar No. 90

86TH CONGRESS <i>1st Session</i>	} HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES {	REPORT No. 259
-------------------------------------	------------------------------	-------------------

REPORT ON THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

STRUCTURE—OBJECTIVES—LEADERSHIP

APRIL 3, 1959.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State
of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. WALTER, from the Committee on Un-American Activities,
submitted the following

R E P O R T

[Pursuant to H. Res. 7, 86th Cong., 1st sess.]

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction.....	1
The New California Districts.....	3
Organizational Structure.....	4
Activities and Objectives.....	6
Role of Front Organizations.....	7
Program Adopted at Convention.....	8
Post-Convention Developments.....	15
Recruitment of Youth.....	15
Revised Party Line on the Negroes.....	16
Developments in the Labor Field.....	17
Internal Party Problems.....	18
Healey as a Factionalist.....	27
Leadership.....	28
Other Party Personalities.....	32
Appendix:	
Exhibit I. Report to Southern California District convention on the role and program of the Communist Party, by Dorothy Ray Healey.....	57
Exhibit II. Trade-union resolution.....	66
Exhibit III. Resolution on Negro-labor alliance.....	69
Exhibit IV. Resolution on Mexican work.....	70
Exhibit V. The Jewish people in the United States.....	71
Exhibit VI. Resolution on the People's World.....	74
Exhibit VII. Letter to convention delegates from the People's World.....	75
Exhibit VIII. Draft of bylaws, Southern California District, Commu- nist Party.....	76
Exhibit IX. Rules of the convention.....	77
Exhibit X. Report of the Constitution and Organization Commit- tee to the convention.....	78
Exhibit XI. Resolution offered by the Constitution and Organization Committee.....	82
Exhibit XII. Comments on the status of the party, by Dorothy Ray Healey.....	83
Exhibit XIII. Resolution on Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Ques- tion in the United States.....	88
Exhibit XIV. New Features of the Negro Question in the United States, by James E. Jackson (September 20, 1958).....	91
Exhibit XV. Report of Eugene Dennis to the National Committee, CPUSA, (June 28, 1958).....	100
Exhibit XVI. Report to National Committee on Work and Consoli- dation of the Party, by Bob Thompson (June 28, 1958).....	110
Index.....	i

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(g) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

"Communism is not only a creed. It is a plan of campaign. A Communist is not only the holder of certain opinions; he is the pledged adept of a well-thought-out means of enforcing them. The anatomy of discontent and revolution has been studied in every phase and aspect, and a veritable drill book prepared in a scientific spirit for subverting all existing institutions. The method of enforcement is as much a part of the Communist faith as the doctrine itself."

—*Winston Churchill (1937).*

REPORT ON SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Structure—Objectives—Leadership

INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of the United States has remodeled its forces in California for a new offensive in the Golden State.

By authorization from the Communist Party's national headquarters, located in New York, California Communists since the Spring of 1957 have been implementing a major change in their organizational structure, as well as certain changes in strategy.

The remodeling is patently aimed at increasing the efficiency and flexibility of the Communist operation in California. Unchanged, however, is the ultimate goal of the California conspiracy, which—like its counterparts in other areas of the United States—seeks to build up Communist influence and power for the purpose of eventually imposing a Soviet system upon this Nation.

Why has California become the target of an invigorated subversion campaign? Obviously, the Communist Party is alert to the potentials of the booming State. California's constantly increasing population, its burgeoning industries ranging from strategic aircraft and missile production to the building trades, its unique multi-million dollar entertainment center, and its mounting influence in the national political scene unfortunately have not only attracted the average loyal American but also the Nation's predatory Communist minority.

This Communist minority habitually focuses its efforts on key areas where the successful infiltration of Communists would yield a maximum return in terms of influence and power.

The Communist Party, furthermore, has at its command in California the Nation's second largest concentration of Communist Party members. Only New York outranks California in Communist strength (as well as in total population.) The west coast conspiracy is signalized by its extreme vitality, which was unquenched even during the internal strife that handicapped Communist operations throughout the country in a recent period.

The current plan of operations of the Communist Party in California has been elicited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a result of intensive staff investigations, supplemented by a series of hearings in that State during September 1958 and February 1959. Communist activities in this area have, of course, been subject to continuous investigation by this committee for more than a dozen years. In nine of those years, the committee dispatched a special subcommittee to California for the purpose of receiving sworn testimony regarding the extent and direction of local Communist opera-

tions. The committee pursued these inquiries in compliance with legislative mandates requiring the committee and, in turn, the Congress, to remain informed on Communist activities in preparation for the enactment of remedial legislation when the exigencies of the situation demand it.

The committee believes that the Congress and the people of the United States should be apprised of the latest Communist maneuvers in this highly sensitive and important area of the country. It has, therefore, prepared the following report which sets forth in detail the reorganization of the California Communist Party into two new major subdivisions of the Communist Party, USA—a Northern California District and a corresponding District of Southern California.

In view of the resultant complexity of the party's operations, the committee has selected the Southern California District of the party—encompassing the most populous area of the State—for the purpose of illustrating the present Communist organizational structure, objectives, activities, and leadership in California.

THE NEW CALIFORNIA DISTRICTS

The Communist Party of the United States is organized on national, district, state, section, and club levels. A hierarchy of Communist officials on each of these levels channels directives from the top national offices down to the mass of party members organized in local clubs and sees to it that the orders are carried out.

A "district" is the second highest organizational level of the party and usually covers territory which includes one or more State organizations of the party. The State of California, for example, has long been combined with the States of Arizona and Nevada and the Territory of Hawaii in Communist Party District 13.

In a striking tribute to the size and importance of its West Coast Communist operation, the Communist Party of the United States early in 1957 created two major party districts within the State of California alone. The State of California today, therefore, is divided into a Northern California District of the Communist Party, USA, and a Southern California District of the Communist Party, USA. The former State apparatus of the party has been replaced with a liaison group known as the State Coordinating Committee, on which both new districts have representatives.

Reorganization of the party structure in California created a vast array of new posts on the important district level, which meant promotions for a multitude of former minor party figures. Through a series of national directives, the members of the new districts were also called upon to intensify their efforts to infiltrate influential elements of the California community, with the aid of some of the most deceptively attractive slogans ever devised by the Communist conspiracy.

This report hereafter describes the operations of Southern California Communists who today have the distinction of constituting the second largest district of the Communist Party, USA, since the reorganization.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The Southern California District of the Communist Party, USA, was organized at a district convention held April 13 and 14, 1957, at the Park Manor, 607 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles.

Geographically, the new district is bounded on the north by Santa Barbara and Kern Counties, on the east by the State lines of Arizona and Nevada, and on the south by Mexico.

Top official of the new party district is the chairman, Dorothy Ray Healey (Mrs. Philip Connelly), professional Communist who is also a member of the party's National Committee. She formerly headed the Los Angeles County organization of the party.

Second ranking post is that of district administrative secretary, held by Ben Dobbs, former organizational secretary of the Los Angeles County Communist Party.

In addition to Healey and Dobbs, the Southern California District is supervised by a 62-member district council and a 10-man district executive board selected from the council members. There are also 62 alternate delegates to the District Council who may attend council meetings as "observers" but can vote only in the absence of regular delegates.

Below the district level, the party organization in Southern California is broken down into 28 sections. Section officials serve as liaison between the district leadership and the next organizational level—the clubs. Sections usually correspond to a limited geographical area such as a county or city, or to political subdivisions such as congressional and assembly districts. Some sections, however, are based on the common employment of the club members.

Following is a list of the party's various sectional subdivisions in Southern California. It should be noted, however, that leaders of the Southern California District complained to the party's National Committee in December 1958 that the multiplicity of sections has resulted in a cumbersome operation; and a combination of a number of the sections is underway.

Bay Cities Section (including Santa Monica and the beaches Redondo, Manhattan and Malibu).

Beverly-Fairfax Section (within the city of Los Angeles).

Boyle Heights-City Terrace Section (within the city of Los Angeles).

Building Trades Section.

Centinella or 46th Assembly District Section (Los Angeles County).

Cultural Section.

East Hollywood Section.

Echo Park Section (within the city of Los Angeles).

Fifty-seventh Assembly District Section (Los Angeles County).

Fifty-eighth Assembly District Section (Los Angeles County).

Harbor Section (including the cities of San Pedro, Wilmington, and Long Beach).

Miscellaneous Industrial Section.
 Monterey Park Section.
 Moranda Smith Section (chiefly steel workers in the city of Los Angeles).
 Needle Trades Section.
 Orange County Section.
 Pasadena Section.
 Professional Section.
 San Bernardino County and Riverside County Section.
 San Diego County Section.
 San Gabriel Section.
 Santa Barbara County Section.
 Valley 21st Section (21st Congressional District, San Fernando Valley).
 Valley 22d Section (22d Congressional District, San Fernando Valley).
 Ventura County Section.
 Watts-Compton Section.
 Whittier Section.
 Zapata Section (Eastern section of the city of Los Angeles).

The club is the smallest subdivision in the party's apparatus. It is set up on the basis of a common activity by the members. There are professional and cultural clubs for such groupings as doctors and nurses, teachers, lawyers, scientists, social workers, screenwriters, newspaper people, and musicians. Within the industrial section are clubs exclusively for employees of a single industry or for members of a particular industrial union. Other clubs are composed of members residing within the same community or small town.

In the words of the Constitution and Organization Committee of the new Southern California District, the club is "the center of our work—it is the place where every Communist has his connection to the party—it is the point of production."

At secret club meetings, the Communists receive their indoctrination in Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, obtain and report on assignments, and of course pay dues and numerous special assessments of the party. In the course of their work, club members must, without exception, follow directives issued by the party's national office and channeled down to the clubs through the district and section officers. Harold Ashe, former California State official of the party, described the chain of orders as follows:

It is a monolithic party from top to bottom; a single block of stone. The party is hard and unyielding and unconscionable. * * * You surrender all independent thought, all independent action to those higher in the chain of command. Discipline is more important in the party than being right. * * *

As a result of this chain of command, every individual Communist in California also serves as an agent in the worldwide Communist movement directed from Moscow. The national leaders of the Communist Party in the United States unswervingly follow policies laid down by the dictators in the Kremlin, who view the Communist Party in this country merely as another instrument in their march for world domination.

¹ Testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, September 17, 1951, p. 1444.

A practicing attorney in the city of Los Angeles told the committee he quit the local party organization in disgust in the late 1940's when he realized that—

the Communist Party, rather than being a legitimate political party within the constitutional framework of the United States, was actually nothing more or less than "a branch of the Soviet Foreign Office; that it was doing nothing more than spewing forth whatever happened to be the pronouncement from the Kremlin at the time.

And I must say that during my entire experience with the Communist Party, I cannot recall any policy which the party had ever adopted which deviated in any way from the interests of the Soviet Union.²

ACTIVITIES AND OBJECTIVES

The Communist Party has as one of its basic tenets that there cannot be a revolutionary theory without revolutionary action. * * * no Communist is a theorist unless he is also an activist * * *

California Communists, in other words, are not allowed to sit and theorize about a coming revolution in America. They are required to engage in day-to-day activities all designed to hasten the end of free institutions and a republican form of government in the United States.

The Southern California Communist Party accordingly places major emphasis on its program of action. The committee believes that this program is also of prime importance to the State's vast majority of loyal citizens who cannot be expected to repulse successfully the efforts of the Communist conspiratorial minority without having a knowledge of its plans.

What is the present Communist plan of operation? Basically, it calls for a massive Communist effort to penetrate every segment of the California community—industries, unions, major political parties, community and fraternal organizations, churches, and nationality groups—and then to spread Communist influence in those areas, recruit new Communists, and put the party people into actual control wherever possible.

Infiltration, of course, has always been a strategy of the Communist Party; its degree of emphasis today however is comparable in party history only to the "united front" effort of the 1930's.

Behind this infiltration strategy is the proven fact that a relatively few Communists controlling a legitimate organization with a vast non-Communist membership can wield far greater power in behalf of Soviet objectives than the party can in its own name.

To increase the success of this stepped-up infiltration process, Communists are under orders to wear a new look. In other words, to a degree unmatched in party history, Communists are now promoting themselves as loyal to the United States, peace-loving and humanitarian in purpose, and anxious to work in harmony with socialists, liberals, and even capitalists for the good of the Nation.

¹ Testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, January 25, 1952, p. 2022.

² Testimony of Harold Ashe, former California State official of the Communist Party, before House Committee on Un-American Activities, September 17, 1951, p. 1453.

Role of Front Organizations.

The party has heretofore concentrated much effort on organizing and maintaining its own so-called mass organizations and political groups. Most of these Communist-initiated projects have been allowed to die out in favor of an all-out campaign to enter and subvert existing respectable institutions and organizations.

No longer on the scene, for example, are the Southern California Chapter of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, various chapters of the Civil Rights Congress, and the Southern California Peace Crusade—vociferous vehicles of Communist propaganda in the early 1950's. The party's most ambitious political front, the Independent Progressive Party, also faded out after it failed to muster a large enough vote in the 1954 California elections to qualify for a place on future ballots in the State.

The party's front operations in the Southern California District today are consequently confined to four major organizations—the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the American Russian Institute of Southern California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, and the Downtown Club.

The Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which was formed in November 1949 and which has been dealt with exhaustively in a previous report of this committee,⁴ has concentrated on defending local Communists faced with deportation and lobbying against local or national legislation in the security field.

The American Russian Institute of Southern California, cited as Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in 1949, has been promoting Soviet foreign policy through the media of literature and public forums in Los Angeles since 1946. Both its present executive director, Rosemary Lusher, and former executive director, Reva Mucha, appeared as witnesses before the committee on September 4, 1958, but invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions regarding their membership in the Communist Party of Southern California.

The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, also the subject of committee hearings and reports in the past,⁶ specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by Frank Wilkinson, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles September 2-5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified

⁴ See Report on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, p. 24 and pp. 54-54.

⁶ See "Operation Abolition," report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, November 8, 1957, pp. 12-14, and Annual Report for the Year 1958, March 8, 1959, Committee on Un-American Activities pp. 14 and 35.

campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by District Chairman Dorothy Healey in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. Healey declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly Communist rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee.

The devious methods employed by the Communists in the abolition campaign were further illustrated at a meeting of the party's Southern California District Council on November 23, 1958. Council member Dorothy Forest, reporting on local Communist progress in stimulating public sentiment for abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities, declared that one of the special projects of the party district was obtaining signatures to petitions then being circulated by the Southern California Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and calling for an end to this congressional committee.

The Downtown Club, at 1218 Temple Street, in the heart of Los Angeles, was formerly the Downtown Club of the Independent Progressive Party. With the demise of that political front for the Communist Party, the Downtown Club has continued to operate since early 1955 as an ostensible "non-partisan" "community betterment club". The club's meetings, lectures, classes, and social events serve as vehicles for advancing the party line on a variety of domestic and foreign issues. Naomi Blair, secretary of the Downtown Club during its operation as an IPP affiliate and as an "independent" organization, attends meetings of the party's Southern California District Council. She appeared as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on September 4, 1958, but invoked the fifth amendment in response to all committee questions relating to party activities.

Program Adopted at Convention

The April 1957 convention which organized the new Southern California District adopted a program of action outlined by the national party organization. The intermediary was Dorothy Healey, member of the National Committee of the party who had been selected chairman of the Southern California District. She frankly declared at the outset of the convention that its first task was to take steps to apply "the main line of the National Convention to our District."

Mrs. Healey's convention speech, which is reproduced in full in an appendix to this report, constantly refers to an antimonopoly coalition as the main goal of Communists throughout the Nation. This slogan, developed at the party's national convention in February, 1957, is designed to entice non-Communists into cooperation and actual coalition with Communists on the fraudulent premise that the Communists are chiefly interested in fighting the growth of monopoly in this country. What the Communists do not emphasize is that if they come to power through an antimonopoly coalition or any other type of coalition with non-Communists, not only monopoly but the

free-enterprise system will be eliminated in favor of the establishment of a Communist slave state.

Here are some of the major points of the program of Southern California Communists, based on direct quotations from the district convention report of Mrs. Healey and subsequent resolutions adopted by the convention on April 13-14, 1957:

We believe that socialism provides the only basic solution to the problems of Americans, but the majority of our fellow Americans do not recognize socialism as the answer (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 58).

This declaration serves notice that Communists are working toward the imposition of a Soviet system on the United States, whether or not the American people understand or accept such a system.

While the American workers are not yet class conscious, they share the tradition of hatred of monopolies * * *.

Our party's program for an antimonopoly coalition is a program to consolidate an alliance of all the forces of the people against monopolies * * *.

We describe the antimonopoly coalition as our strategic aim on the road to socialism * * *.

An antimonopoly coalition can bring about a major change in the relationship of forces in this country, in which labor would play a decisive role, and could thereby tremendously advance the road to socialism (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 58).

By posing as a crusader against "monopolies," the Communist Party hopes to get cooperation from all elements of the American population, and particularly the labor movement, in what is actually a constant attack on the free enterprise system of America.

While the propaganda for socialism is important, nowhere in the world did workers acquire revolutionary consciousness except by their participation in class and national struggles, based on immediate demands (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 58).

This calls for work among non-Communists to convert them to a revolutionary consciousness.

Our task is the development of struggle on those immediate issues around which workers today will unite (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 58).

Communists must attempt to gain influence among non-Communists by agitating on issues of concern to legitimate organizations.

* * * Communists * * * are working in community organizations, fraternal organizations or churches * * *.

A further expression of the way to develop and consolidate the antimonopoly alliance, is through our participation in activating the program of the people's organizations to which we belong * * *.

During the last few years a myth developed that our leading role was displayed only if we came up with program and issues initiated by ourselves. Such an idea has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, * * *

So we start by trying to unite the members on issues already projected by their own organizations, and continue by finding a way to unite that organization and its members, with others (Healey report; see Appendix pp. 59, 63).

In order to build up the power of the party in California, Communists will step up their activity within non-Communist organizations. In the guise of working for the legitimate aims of such organizations, Communist members will jockey for positions of influence or control so that the organization and its non-Communist members will be forced to serve Communist objectives.

The County Conference on Human Relations demonstrates the interlocking character of the main labor, Negro, Mexican, Jewish, Asian, church and liberal forces in this area. Progressives could play a needed role by participating in developing grassroots expressions of this movement, thereby uniting the rank and file, as well as the leaders.

Note should be made of the Coordinating Councils which function in most communities * * * based on a membership which includes representation from organizations and individuals * * * (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 61).

This clearly shows that Communists will make special efforts to get into organizations with broadest community representation where Communist influence will have major effect.

As an organization dedicated to socialism and striving to increase socialist consciousness among the workers, the Communist Party must work consistently in support of the trade union movement * * *

* * * Communists [must] become active members in the life of their unions, * * * participate in the work and committees of the unions * * *

* * * we call on the entire Party in Southern California to concern itself with the problems before labor, to strengthen working class participation in all aspects of public life, as essential in the development of an antimonopoly coalition * * * so that labor can more effectively influence the affairs of the nation and finally lead it in a government which owns and operates the means of production for the people, in a system of democracy and socialism. * * * (Trade Union Resolution; see Appendix, pp. 66-69).

Infiltration and influence within California's labor movement continues to hold high priority for Communists who would like to employ the power of labor as a springboard to a Communist-controlled government in the United States.

The municipal [election] campaign * * * demonstrated that our policy must always be two-pronged. First, to have

a mass line that provides for the fullest participation in the broadest campaigns, and second, a policy to influence the more advanced workers through the independent expression of the party's electoral position * * * If it is possible, there is full agreement on the need to enter party candidates for some offices, although not by posing such a candidate against maximum activity in the election campaigns where important coalitions have developed (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 62).

Communists will in some instances support its own party members as candidates for political office but in the main they will enter and work within existing political organizations in California in an effort to influence these groups into serving Communist objectives.

The political expression of an antimonopoly coalition can be realized through the establishment of a Party led by labor in alliance with the broadest sections of the American people. Our National Convention refused to blueprint the precise way in which such a Party will finally emerge * * * (Healey report; see Appendix, pp. 62, 63).

In the future, the party hopes that it can gain enough support from the American labor movement and other elements of the population to establish a third political party in the United States through which Communists hope to achieve great political power.

Los Angeles is one of the main cultural centers of the country. The dominant culture stifles and pollutes the mass media which influence the minds of all Americans. * * *

We can most effectively participate in the battle of ideas when we utilize the talents and devotion to the cause of the working class, which is present among our cultural workers (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 61).

Through party members with experience in cultural and entertainment fields, the Southern California party intends to improve its work directed toward obtaining influence over the content of movies and television programs being produced in Hollywood.

We are not in a position to project a definite program of work among youth. We know that the future of our party lies in our ability to win youth to the cause of socialism. * * * high on the priority list on our party's program, should be the planned and conscious approach toward the young people in the mass organizations and unions in which we participate. (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 61).

Although party survival depends on the constant acquisition of younger members, the Southern California Communist Party admittedly had not yet devised a program of action to insure the recruitment of such members. Until such time, the party instructs its members infiltrated into non-Communist organizations to attempt

to influence and recruit young people who are members of the same organizations.

The Negro, Mexican and Jewish communities have grown enormously in the last decade and have increased their potential as important allies of the labor movement. The Negro community has grown from 40,000 in 1940, to approximately 400,000 in Los Angeles County alone. * * * We would agree * * * in singling out FEP [Fair Employment Practices] as a major concentration for activity * * *. In addition * * * we would stress the resolution passed by our national convention that the No. 1 task before the whole country is the democratizing of the South. * * * This program, too, is directly related to the building of an antimonopoly coalition * * * (Healey report; see Appendix, pp. 59, 60).

Southern California Communists seek to dupe non-Communist Negroes into cooperating with Communists and furthering subversive objectives on the false claim that the party is sincerely concerned with finding a solution to problems facing the Negro people,

In the last decade, as the U.S. born generation has matured, Mexican-Americans have strengthened their organizational ties with existing community organizations and at the same time have added to the number and quality of Mexican-American organizations * * *

* * * we should * * * give greater emphasis to the development of Mexican cadre * * * (Healey report and Resolution on Mexican work, respectively; see Appendix, pp. 60, 70).

The Communist Party will strive to recruit into its ranks a sizable group of Americans of Mexican descent; this is a step toward gaining influence in the large Mexican-American community in Southern California.

The Jewish community has witnessed great numbers of new centers and organizations being built in every community. * * * Accompanying this organizational growth has been an increased political participation * * *.

Questions before us for further study are:

(1) How to avoid the extremes of negating Israel and of accepting its actions uncritically.

(2) How to work in religious groups while keeping ourselves and our children free of the religious doctrine of these groups * * *.

This convention instructs the incoming County District to constitute a Jewish Commission * * * to come forth with proposals concerning matters both of theory and organizational forms in the Jewish field. (Healey report and Exhibit, Jewish People in the U.S., respectively; see Appendix, pp. 60, 73, 74).

With the establishment of a Jewish Commission, the party expects to develop a program by which it can win support within the in-

fluent Jewish community in southern California, in spite of the party's known atheistic nature and the Soviet Union's hostile attitude toward Israel.

Working class parties must strive to fulfill the expression of internationalism, and in discussing the rôle of our Party our viewpoint on international questions is important (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 64).

Party propaganda will at all times promote the aggressive foreign policies of the Soviet Union.

* * * we think that the action of the Soviet Army on November 4th was a tragic necessity, a necessary action on behalf of the interests of the adjoining Socialist countries, and a necessary action on behalf of the basic interests of the Hungarian workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals * * *.

We know that it was American dollars that assisted the Horthy, Mindzenty forces in corrupting the demands of the honest Socialist workers, intellectuals, and students who were fighting. We believe that without the Soviet army the Hungarian people would have had no more opportunity to exercise the rights of self-determination, than the peoples of Spain or Hitler Germany—or the people of Guatemala (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 64).

This demonstrates that California Communists are required to justify the Soviet intervention and mass murder in Hungary.

What we can all agree on, I am sure, and make part of our program of work for our Southern California Party, is our participation in the campaign to withdraw all troops, Soviet and American, from Europe, and to send all troops stationed throughout the world, back to their own homes (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 65).

Local Communists will also help promote Soviet designs for world conquest by joining in the Soviet campaign for recall of American troops now bolstering the defenses of free nations abroad.

We can agree and vote on our determination to work actively to end nuclear explosions on the part of both the United States and the Soviet Union (Healey report; see Appendix, p. 65).

Concurrently, Communist propaganda seeks to weaken American home defenses against communism by backing Soviet demands for an end to nuclear explosions.

The Southern California District convention of April 13-14, 1957 demonstrated that the party was acutely aware of the special potentialities in the area for exploitation for Communist objectives.

Convention resolutions and speeches placing great stress on the continued need for Communists to infiltrate the labor movement of the area included this revealing statement:

This has become the major center in the country for the aircraft and electronics industries, with aircraft the single greatest employer. It is a major center for auto, steel, rubber, maritime, plastic, machine shops, needle, furniture, food processing, distributive trades, office, and one of the greatest building trades centers in the country. The growth of our working class is accompanied by a constant influx into our area of new workers * * *. (Trade Union Resolution; See Appendix, p. 67.)

Communist influence or control in such industries could put tremendous power into the hands of a minority loyal to an aggressive foreign power and openly vowed to destroy capitalism and our democratic form of government. That such is the goal of Communist infiltration strategy was verified by Stephen W. Wereb, former FBI undercover agent within the Communist Party in Los Angeles, who testified that Communists sought control of unions in basic industries in California in order to put the industries themselves at the mercy of the Communists.⁶

Most segments of organized labor in California have been alert to this Communist strategy in the past and have repulsed Communist efforts to dominate their affairs. The committee hopes that the vigilance of organized labor will continue in view of the Communists' still resolute efforts to use organized labor by one means or another as a step toward Soviet power.

Party leaders are also aware of the possibilities for exploitation inherent in the entertainment industry in southern California. However, a combination of resistance from the entertainment industry, exposure of Communist efforts by this committee, and internal disputes within the party has neutralized most of the effectiveness of the party in this area.

Typical of the internal dissension within the party was a complaint by John Howard Lawson, reputed leader of Communists in Hollywood, that the party's so-called cultural members were always left out of top party councils. Mrs. Healey attempted to eliminate this friction in her report to the Southern California District convention of the party when she said:

* * * We must overcome the longstanding tendencies toward anti-intellectualism which have been present in our party. We can most effectively participate in the battle of ideas when we utilize the talents and devotion to the cause of the working class which is present among our cultural workers.

⁶ Testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, April 20, 1954, p. 4789.

POST-CONVENTION DEVELOPMENTS

Bylaws of the new Southern California District of the Communist Party, USA, call for yearly district conventions. District leaders had prepared to hold such a conclave in June 1958 but moved the date to October 1958 when informed that it would conflict with a meeting of the party's national committee and various other party conferences. The October date was subsequently canceled on the grounds that the Committee on Un-American Activities hearings in California during the preceding month had kept party leaders too busy to prepare for convention sessions.

The committee has learned that the second convention of the party's new Southern California District has now been scheduled for early 1959, and that the exact date will be set when the party's national committee announces a date for a 1959 national party convention and issues material for "pre-convention discussion" on local party levels.

In the absence of a convention, proceedings of the 62-member district council, which meets monthly for the purpose of supervising and coordinating Communist efforts in southern California are the best index to significant developments in the area. The council customarily convenes at the Park Manor in Los Angeles, an establishment which rents its space for public functions. When the party's district council is in session, it is innocuously advertised on the Park Manor bulletin board as a meeting of the "Midtown Forum," but only recognized delegates are admitted to these party gatherings.

Since the revision of the California apparatus and strategy in 1957, a number of decisions by the party's national leadership have had a noteworthy impact on the local party.

Recruitment of Youth

One of the most important developments in the Communist Party operation in southern California—and one which merits the attention and concern of the entire California community—is an invigorated drive to lure youth into the party.

Since early 1957, the Communist Party of the United States has lacked a party youth organization (in the past, party youth were enrolled in such organizations as the Young Communist League, the American Youth for Democracy, and the Labor Youth League). Communist leaders have observed with dismay that the United States is the only nation without a party youth organization. They are even more concerned about the situation since recent disaffectors from the party have charged that party membership today is mainly confined to older persons and that the organization has no "future" in this country.

National party officials, therefore, have been putting increased pressure on the membership to bring Marxism to the youth of America and in turn recruit youth into the ranks of the Communist Party. A youth page was inaugurated in the Communist Party's national organ, *The Worker*, in February of 1959 as part of this desperate effort to build up a "Marxist-Leninist youth movement."

The party's Southern California District responded in 1958 by creating a District Youth Commission to develop a vigorous new pro-

gram in the youth field. The district also gave a full-time assignment on youth work to Charlene Mitchell, a paid party functionary who is a member of both the district council and the National Committee of the Communist Party. Mrs. Mitchell also holds the title of co-chairman of the new District Youth Commission, along with Ethel Biskar, a 23-year-old party member formerly active in the Labor Youth League.

Local party efforts resulted last year in the formation of three youth clubs in Los Angeles, each of which had one or two younger members of the California party apparatus to guide a majority of non-Communist members toward Marxism. The District Youth Commission has also arranged Marxist study classes and social events as bait for youth in the southern California area.

Youth will continue to be key concentration for Southern California Communists in 1959, according to assurances made by District Chairman Healey and Administrative Secretary Ben Dobbs at a meeting of the Communist Party's National Committee in New York City in December 1958.

Revised Party Line on the Negroes

The National Committee of the Communist Party in 1958 took a new look at its 30-year-old propaganda line regarding the Negro people of the United States and decided Communists have been using the wrong approach.

The party has always attempted to portray itself as the only true champion of "full equality" and "freedom" for the Negro people in its effort to lure members of this minority group into its conspiracy to bring about communism in the United States. The basic resistance of the Negro people to Communist efforts to exploit their grievances has been documented in previous reports of this committee.⁷ That the party has been impeded in its efforts to influence any substantial portion of the Negro population is unquestionably due to the innate integrity and common sense of this minority.

An additional impediment to the party, however, has been its propaganda line on Negroes which was imposed on the American Communist movement in the late 1920's by officials of the Communist International, headquartered in Moscow. The line held that American Negroes in some 100 southern counties constituted a disenfranchised "national grouping" which with Communist help could some day become a Soviet Negro "nation." The Communist Party has soft-pedaled this line when it failed to impress the vast non-Communist majority of American Negroes, but not until last year was the party willing to admit it was wrong and thus open the way for a more effective approach to the Negro people.

A new resolution adopted by the National Committee on "Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question in the United States" reverses longstanding party policy by such statements as:

The Negro people of the United States are not constituted as a separately developed nation. Rather, their characteristics are that of a racially distinctive people or nationality who are a historically determined component of the American nation of the U.S. * * *

⁷ See Report on the American Negro in the Communist Party, Committee on Un-American Activities, December 22, 1951.

Negroes unite not in order to separate themselves from the political, economic or social life of our country. They unite * * * to level the barriers to their fullest integration into * * * the * * * life of the American people as a whole.⁸

This revised line brings the alleged party aims closer to the real aspirations of many Negroes in the United States. It will prove attractive, however, only to those non-Communists who are willing to forget that the slogans of communism change from day to day and are deliberately intended to create popularity for a conspiracy whose relentless aim is the imposition of a form of government which disregards the rights and freedom of all individuals.

Chairman Healey of the Southern California District of the Communist Party has hailed the new Negro policy at district council meetings as a great boon to Communist efforts to enter and win support in non-Communist movements seeking increased representation for Negroes in the South and integration of Negroes into American life.

While the new propaganda line will undoubtedly assist the party in its efforts at coalition with (and subsequent influence in) non-Communist organizations, the committee has learned that the change has actually created a rift between Negro and white members within the Communist Party itself.

For example, meetings of the party's Southern California District Council in late 1958 and early 1959 resounded with arguments as to the validity of the new line. It is interesting to note that Negro Communist leaders in the district are invariably opposing any change in the classic Communist theory that American Negroes should be entitled to the status of a "nation" in the South, with a "nation's" right to secession from the United States if necessary. White Communist leaders on the other hand have been backing a change in policy for practical, as well as for a number of flimsy theoretical, reasons presented by the National Committee.⁹

Developments in the Labor Field

The 16th National Convention of the Communist Party in February 1957 laid great stress on the necessity for members to gain influence within America's organized labor movement, but no specific "labor policy statement" was concocted until a year and a half later.

In June 1958, the party's national committee finally issued a statement of "labor policy" in which the party attempted to create a welcome for Communists in the American labor movement on the grounds that the party members would fight staunchly for legitimate labor interests.

Bernard Lusher, chairman of the Labor Commission of the party's Southern California District, reported to the district council on July 27, 1958, that the policy statement would be extremely helpful to California Communists in "mass work". "Mass work" is Communist terminology for efforts to influence various groupings of non-Communists toward Communist objectives.

⁸ See Appendix Exhibit XIII, "Resolution on Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question in the United States" and Appendix Exhibit XIV, "New Features of the Negro Question in the United States," report by James E. Jackson, member, National Committee, Communist Party, USA, Sept. 20, 1958.

⁹ Ibid.

Meanwhile, certain organizational changes were also instituted in the party's Southern California District to increase the productivity of Communist machinations within the trade union field.

Labor Commission chairman Lusher reported to the district council in October 1958 that for the first time all party members in the district who are active in the labor movement have been organized into occupational clubs. While clubs based on a common occupation have previously existed, many trade union members of the Communist Party actually met in community clubs, whose membership involved all Communists within a limited geographical area.

The new organizational unity of comrades in the field of labor paves the way for a more concentrated and effective assault on the non-Communist trade union. As Lusher stated before the party's Southern California District Council, the party thereby hopes to increase its ability to influence the views of the non-Communist trade unionist. Results of the reorganization are already evident, it was also reported.

INTERNAL PARTY PROBLEMS

The Communist Party of Southern California, following the pattern in party organizations throughout the United States, has faced one internal crisis after another since 1956.

In that year, Stalin's "crimes" were publicly exposed by new Soviet leaders engaged in a struggle for succession to the late dictator's power.

Stalin was made the scapegoat of all that was evil in communism, and a new "collective" leadership therefore appeared to be ushering in a new and more democratic form of communism in the USSR.

Many Communists in the United States and other free nations rejoiced—there was talk of local autonomy—no ties to the Soviet Union—freedom to criticize—coexistence between communism and capitalism—peace (Soviet style) appeared to be a reality.

But then rumblings were heard from behind the Iron Curtain—unrest in East Germany—in Poland—in Hungary. The rumblings became more audible—more explosive. The censor's pencil could no longer repel the explosion. Revolutions broke out in the workers' paradise. The people of Hungary demanded their freedom. Beginning on November 4, 1956, the armored might of the Soviet Union destroyed every last vestige of freedom, not only in Hungary but for Communists throughout the world. Communism had bluntly announced to the world it still ruled by the sword.

As a shocking anticlimax came the official announcement in June 1958 of the execution of Imre Nagy, a staunch Communist who had served as Hungarian premier for a week in October 1956 and who had apparently deviated too far from accepted Communist practice in his attempt to quell the uprisings.

Reverberations from the Soviet guns in Budapest were felt in the ranks of the Communist Party in the United States even before the shooting stopped. Questions asked by the membership remained unanswered by the national leadership, who demanded blind support of the Budapest massacre. Unanswered questions led to dissension—dissension to internal rebellion—rebellion to near chaos in the party in America.

In southern California the party was in a turmoil. Members in the main were silent, but there was a group that was loud and argu-

mentative. These dissenters had different ideas on how to bring communism to the United States. They wanted to cast off subservience to the Soviet Union. Some resignations from the party began to come in shortly after the convention creating the Southern California District in April 1957. One of those resigning was a prominent figure in Communist circles, Bernard Burton. Burton, a former party organizer, was Daily Worker reporter or editor from 1946 until August 1955, when he joined the Los Angeles staff of the West Coast Communist newspaper, the Daily People's World. He remained on the paper until June 1957, although he left the party in April 1957. He appeared as a witness in Los Angeles on September 3, 1958, and his testimony demonstrated the dissatisfaction that was felt in many quarters of the party at this time.

Burton told the committee he began voicing open opposition to the Communist Party leadership after the revelations of Stalin's "crimes" in 1956. Burton could not stomach the Soviet intervention in the Hungarian revolution. He said he hoped the party in the United States could free itself from rule by Communists abroad, and would also discontinue its policy of infiltrating organizations for the purpose of establishing Communist influence and control. Burton, who was called the "West-Coast John Gates" despite a lack of communication between the two dissenters, finally resolved to leave the Communist Party when it became clear there would be no change in the basic character of the movement.

Throughout 1957 arguments on all these issues continued, but District Chairman Dorothy Healey held firm. She was dedicated to obeying the policy of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA; and the Communist Party, USA would follow the dictates of the Soviet Union.

Finally, on December 14, 1957, twenty-two members of the Communist Party in southern California signed a letter of grievance which was mailed to the National Committee.

The letter follows:

DECEMBER 14, 1957.

To the National Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.

DEAR COMRADES: We are concerned because of the continuing and deepening crisis in the Communist Party. The promises and hopes which were to develop from the 16th convention have not come to pass. There has been no progress in overcoming our isolation from the American scene. Rather the cleavages and contradictions have become wider and sharper while the party is daily being reduced by further losses.

It is not our aim at this time to assess all the reasons for this state of affairs. This will come in time.

We are concerned rather with the path ahead for ourselves both as part of the party and as individuals. We do not care to see any further fragmentation and dispersals of broad groups of Marxist- and Socialist-minded forces in whom there is concentrated 2 and 3-decades of intense devotion, loyalty, effort, and experience in the cause of socialism.

In view of the above, we declare:

1. We want to help bring about socialism in the United States.
2. To achieve that aim, we wish to study and organize, making use of the rich experiences of the working class and peoples of all countries, and more especially of those who have achieved socialism or are marching to it. But we also hold that an American party of socialism can successfully solve the problems before it only if it thinks and acts independently on the basis of its own good judgment.
3. We consider the theories worked out by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and more recent leaders as summarizing the best experiences of the workers and peoples of the world in the struggle for socialism. We further consider that the deepest study of the American scene is required so that the lessons summarized by the

teachers of other countries can be creatively and correctly interpreted and applied to the problems of the United States.

4. We believe that the main danger in arriving at a correct program and policies for an American way to socialism comes from a continuing and ever-sharpening dogmatism and sectarianism which seeks to reduce the party to a shell of those who are "pure" in their isolation, preferring to live by the book and to study our country through foreign eyes.

So far, we may seem to be saying nothing that was not stated in one way or another by the 16th convention. But the blunt truth is that the forward-looking decisions of that convention have been hamstrung by those in the leadership who never agreed with them and said so, with an able assist from those who have followed a path of conciliation and compromise with the former—all under the slogans of unity and the need to struggle on two fronts.

5. Therefore, in the present specific party situation, we reject as doubletalk a program of struggle on two fronts. We feel that under this type of program, the party is being driven to destruction. We feel that the main problems derive in the first place from the deep isolation of our movement from the main strata of the people, and above all the working class and Negro people, as well as from the continuing inability of the party to deal with those problems.

6. We further reject the concept that there are two extremes in our party at this time—the right and the left—and that what is needed is "unity," a struggle against both "extremes," and studied avoidance of basic issues under the cloak of that "unity." This kind of "unity" is a mask for opposition to change and leads back into the camp of dogmatism and doctrinairism. Under this type of program, the majority of the party which favored basic changes has been forced out.

We feel instead that the issue is more truly between the overwhelming desire for change in our ways (even though there are overstatements and excesses) and the most bitter, unyielding, and determined resistance against such change. This is more truly the basic issue in our movement at this time, and nothing must be allowed to cloud it.

7. We are more and more convinced that the convention action of seeking any and all avenues for unity with forces who have left our party as well as other Marxist and Socialist groupings is one of the major means by which an important move forward can be made. We are convinced that the hostility to and battle against this concept is a major reason for the sharp party crisis; it being crystal clear now that this proposition is being buried by those who resist any change.

Having thus reached the crossroads, we further declare that we will continue to try to exhaust all possibilities within the party, recognizing at the same time that we can no longer have any illusions. Possibilities for change appear to grow less and less with each passing day.

At this late hour only a number of sharp and serious steps by the national committee would be convincing evidence of a decisive change. Among such steps, would be included:

(a) A forthright repudiation of the characterization of our convention as revisionist by foreign parties.

(b) An equally forthright rejection of the proposition that the cause of the present party crisis is revisionism.

(c) Public reaffirmation of the policy of "fighting side by side with all who struggle for socialism and seeking to cooperate with all socialist-minded Americans to achieve socialism." (Preamble to party constitution)—and working to implement that policy at every point as a major party task.

(d) An open letter to the comrades who have left our party which would be frankly self-critical of our slowness in carrying out the convention decisions. Such a letter should express the hope that these people will in their own way attempt to overcome the fragmentation of experienced Marxist cadre which has already taken place, and convey the willingness of the party to assist in this wherever it is acceptable and in whatever form is possible (i. e. study groups, forums, clubs, and/or any other avenue in which people can continue to study and work together with or without the participation of present party members).

(e) A frank statement that a regrouping is necessary, inclusive of those who have left as well as those who remain in the party, legalizing discussion along those lines, and expressing the need for finding ways of carrying it out in the near future—coupled with the taking of actual steps to do so.

(f) Taking a number of immediate organizational measures that will help move the party in the above direction, including:

Shifting of staff personnel to eliminate obstructionists to such changes.

Making the present structure of the party more flexible so that membership in the present type of party club is not necessarily a requirement for adherence to the organization.

Moving the national office to Chicago forthwith.

Steps to bring into line any party organization that defied the line of the national convention.

(g) Opening a discussion of a party program in an atmosphere of free discussion and with an approach in keeping with the decision of the convention on the need to think through our problems on the basis of the most careful study of the American scene.

(h) Instructing all national subcommittees and bodies of the party, and most especially the educational committee and "political affairs," to develop policies and material supporting and implementing the policies and spirit of the 16th convention.

(i) Regular and frequent issuance of a real discussion bulletin in which the views of the membership can be expressed.

Only such a series of actions and more along similar lines affords any hope of halting further losses and disintegration and of realizing whatever possibilities for change still remain in the party.

Signed by: Bob B., West Adams; Bebe, Boyle Heights (Beatrice Goldstein); Ada, Boyle Heights (Ada Dobbs); Celeste, Zapata (Celeste Strack Kaplan); Dan, Western; Dorothy, Echo Park (Dorothy Cate); Elizabeth, Moranda Smith (Elizabeth Ricardo Jackson); Elizabeth, Echo Park (Elizabeth Spector); Frank Carlson, Boyle Heights; Frank Spector, Echo Park; Henry Steinberg, Valley 22; Joe, Valley 22 (Joe Gavron)¹⁰; Kappy, Miscellaneous Industrial (Leonard "Kappy" Kaplan); Lil C., Boyle Heights (Lillian Carlson); Lois Newman,¹¹ San Gabriel; Lou B., Building Trades (Louis Baron); Mort Newman, Miscellaneous Industrial; Phil, Western (Philip Rafalow); Ruth L., Boyle Heights; Sid, Miscellaneous Industrial (Sid London); Sophie, West Adams (Sophie Kishner); Viv, Boyle Heights.

Most of the 22 individuals signing this letter used only first names. The committee has supplied the full names in parentheses, with four exceptions. While the committee has reliable information respecting the identity and background of the four who signed the letter Bob B., Dan, Ruth L., and Viv, it is not reporting its information at this time.

The letter of the "Los Angeles 22" had no effect on the national committee. It did, however, stimulate Dorothy Ray Healey into an attempt to heal the differences of the dissenting faction. Mrs. Healey authored a lengthy treatise (Exhibit XII, see Appendix, p. 83) "Comments on the status of the party" which on March 9, 1958, was given to the 62 members of the Southern California District Council and later passed down for discussion on the section level. In this treatise Mrs. Healey had this to say in part:

The most serious aspect of the continuing crisis within the Communist Party is the growing separation of Communist from his fellow Communist, the polarizing of opinion in some sections, with growing confusion and bewilderment in others; all leading to the continuing fragmentation of the party.

Name-calling and abstract definitions (dogmatism versus revisionism) have become a substitute for debate and concrete examination of facts. Lenin and Marx called plenty of "names," but they made political characterizations based on substantial documentation. Our debates are replete

¹⁰ Testified before the committee on September 3, 1958, that he left the party. He invoked the fifth amendment to period of time covering his Communist Party membership.

¹¹ Testified before the committee September 2, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions concerning her present and past status as a Communist Party member.

with the "names" without that documentation. The debaters tend to become wedded to one-sided estimates and frozen positions, and the realities of political life become distorted.

* * * * *

Many comrades cannot visualize being both pro-Soviet and critical. Every attempt to critically examine the history and present status of the Soviet Union is considered "anti-Soviet". It is true that after the 20th Congress, some believed that if you did not have perfection in the Soviet Union, you could not have socialism. But the opposite is also present—many believe that if you do not think there is perfection in the Soviet Union, you are anti-Soviet per se.

* * * * *

Distorted, one-sided approaches toward the Soviet Union result in making it appear that debates on the Soviet Union are composed:

A. Of comrades who would spend their lives criticizing some other country's revolution, to the exclusion of solving the task of winning the workers of their own nation to socialist consciousness; or,

B. Of comrades who would spend their lives defending another country's revolution to the exclusion of solving the tasks in their own country.

In the treatise, Mrs. Healey assumed a conciliatory position. She supported as well as criticized the national committee of the Communist Party, and both supported and criticized the dissenting faction.

The treatise had little effect on dissenters for on March 26, 1958, 26 members of the Communist Party in the State of California officially resigned from the Communist Party. Of the 26 resignations, 16 were from the Southern California District. Nine of the 16 had also signed the letter of grievances to the national committee on December 14, 1957 (see p. 19).

Committee investigation indicates that these resignations do not involve renunciations of communism, but a renunciation of the national committee's high-handed procedures. Many "dissenters" now constitute an unorganized element in our society which continues to advance communism in the United States.

The letter of resignation follows:

MARCH 26, 1958.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
Communist Party of the United States.

DEAR COMRADES: We are writing to inform you that, with profound regret, we are leaving the Communist Party. We have reached this conclusion reluctantly and only after a considerable period of time in which we, with others, hoped that the Party would move in the direction of overcoming its isolation from the American people.

Our reasons for this step go far beyond our disagreement with the decisions of the last national committee meeting which we believe reversed the main positions adopted by the 16th National Convention of the Party. If disagreement with the national committee were the only thing involved, we might well remain and press our viewpoint through the organization. Minorities in other parties, including Communist Parties, have on occasion waged a protracted fight under

difficult conditions with an eventually successful outcome. But there are other and broader considerations which have impelled us to reach our present conclusion.

The Communist Party was the great radical movement of our generation, reaching its peak in the nineteen thirties and early forties. Had we to choose again, we would identify ourselves with it for the same reasons that caused us to do so then: these include the Party's important role in the unemployed movement, its contribution to organizing workers in basic industry, its effective participation in the fight for Negro rights, its pioneering efforts in the struggle against war and fascism, its solidarity with the socialist sector of the world, its aspirations for a socialist America, and its study of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism.

But we feel that today the picture is reversed. Our country is going through a profound crisis impinging upon every aspect of its life; new currents and movements are unfolding among the American people. These stirrings, these movements will eventually open up the American road to socialism. Only through participation in them, only through genuinely absorbing their significance, can we in turn influence others and help them move toward the future. The insistent mounting demand for peace, the magnificent struggle of the Negro people for equal rights, the current battles of the labor movement, the advance of depression with its millions of unemployed—all offer socialist minded Americans a great responsibility and opportunity. Yet the Communist Party stands in almost total isolation from these events, a narrow sect divorced from the American working class and the American people generally.

We believe that this situation is a result of a combination of objective conditions and subjective errors, which were largely analyzed by the 16th National Convention and which we feel require no repetition here. That convention concludes that the Party's key task was to overcome the deeply rooted dogmatism which has afflicted it for many years, and thereby to find the means of effectively merging Marxism with an indigenous American socialist movement.

This central task remains. But with great reluctance we have concluded that it will not be carried out by the present Communist Party. This is dramatized by the recent national committee meeting which in the face of new stirrings on the American scene, turned away from those fresh possibilities toward an even more rigid dogmatism. The action of the national committee merely epitomizes the basic situation within the Party as a whole. We believe that the Party no longer has the resources with which to overcome its isolation; in our opinion its reserves have been exhausted. By and large the Party's mass workers, including the bulk of its trade unionists, have left the Party. Moreover, the Party's losses, far from lessening as the objective situation improves, have continued. This process has gone on to the point where, in our judgment, the Party does not have within it the forces which might eventually overcome its present disastrous course. Nor do we believe it possible to seal off local party organizations from the effects of this total national state of affairs.

As long as we saw any possibility whatever for change, we were willing to remain even if this involved a prolonged battle. But today we feel such possibilities no longer exist; continued struggle within the existing organization under present circumstances could mean only a bitter, inner, factional fight. Therefore we believe our only alternative is to leave the Communist Party and seek fresh avenues of approach. We realize that some comrades who share our general outlook are not now prepared to take this action. We understand their reasons and we wish them well in any continued efforts they may make within the Party. We are sure that we will subsequently find common ground in the struggle for socialism.

We have no blueprint to offer for the future. We do not believe that conditions are yet ripe for the emergence of a definitive program and organization. But we do feel that more limited steps can be taken which will help prepare the soil for something new, and we intend to exert our efforts in that direction. We believe that we as individuals need to extend our ties with the labor movement, the Negro peoples movement, and our own communities, seeking out especially those forward looking people everywhere who are themselves searching out answers to the problems of today. At the same time we feel efforts should be made by conscious Marxists, and especially by those who have left the Communist Party, to preserve and develop further what was healthy and valuable in our experience. We feel attempts should be made to overcome the fragmentation of that cadre which grew up largely under conditions of mass struggles in the thirties and forties. We want to maintain contact on a local and national scale, seeking avenues for continued political exchange. Discussion groups, forums, Marxist clubs and other local forms of study and action, as well as utilization of existing, and possibly

new, publications could all contribute to the eventual emergence of a new united socialist movement.

In this connection, we recognize the importance of maintaining the *Peoples World* as a publication of the left. We will do all that we can to help guarantee its continuation and growth. We believe, however, that its future rests not only on continued efforts by its present supporters; it will in large part be determined by the ability of the paper to broaden its own character and base in the direction of wider left and progressive circles.

We had hoped that the Communist Party would itself move in the general direction indicated in this letter, in keeping with the decisions of the 16th Convention, including its instruction to the national committee to foster the perspective of an eventual united socialist movement or party. We believe this would have offered an avenue through which the Party could hand on its legacy to future generations. But since there is no longer a possibility for this outlook within the Party, we are compelled to seek it through new, if as yet unexplored, channels.

We are sending a collective letter of resignation to emphasize the fact that ours is not the action of hopeless people retiring from a fruitless cause, but rather marks the beginning of an active search for what we are convinced will be a hopeful future. We are submitting our individual resignations to our clubs at which time we will also make this statement available to them.

Among the individuals who resigned on March 26, 1958, from the Southern California Communist Party are:¹²

Baron, Louis

A member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles from 1934 until the time of his resignation, he has held a number of high functionary positions. He was a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California; formerly manager of the *Daily People's World*; cochairman of the Los Angeles County Industrial Concentration Commission; and a member of the State Central Committee, Communist Party. He was born on April 18, 1909, in New York.

Occupation: Tool and die maker.

Brown, Arthur

A member of the Communist Party since 1938, except while he was in the Armed Forces, Brown's resignation came as a surprise to the leadership. Active in New Jersey for a number of years as an organizer of the Communist Party, he came to California approximately 2 years ago and resumed Communist Party work in San Fernando Valley. While in New Jersey, he was a member of the Youth Commission of the Communist Party, a member of the State Veterans Committee of the Communist Party and a member of its State Committee. Brown was born November 4, 1915, in New York City. He invoked the fifth amendment on February 25, 1959 when he appeared as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Los Angeles.

Occupation: Railroad worker.

Carlson, Frank

An alien, born Solomon Colnic on March 6, 1913, in Poland. He joined the Communist Party in 1932 or 1933 and has been under an order of deportation since 1934. He was arrested in Los Angeles in September of 1951 on charges of conspiring to violate the Smith Act, convicted on August 5, 1952, and subsequently sentenced to 5 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. A ruling of the Supreme Court reversed

¹² The committee herewithin lists 14 of the 16 Communist Party members in southern California who signed the letter of resignation on March 26, 1958. Two other individuals, whom the committee has identified as having signed this letter, are not being reported at this time.

the decision of the lower courts and a new trial was ordered. On recommendation of the United States attorney the indictment was dismissed. Carlson has been California State executive secretary, Young Communist League; a member of the national executive committee, Young Communist League. In 1956 he was educational director, Communist Party, Los Angeles County.

~~Carlson, Lillian (Mrs. Frank Carlson)~~

Born Lillian ^{Edna} Dinkin, on March 30, 1914, in Chicago, Ill., Mrs. Carlson is a onetime member of the California State Central Committee, Communist Party. She has been very active in front organizations, such as the Independent Progressive Party, the Civil Rights Congress, and the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. When Mrs. Carlson resigned from the Communist Party she was chairman of the Eastside Defense Committee.

Occupation: Secretary.

~~Goldstein, Beatrice "Bebe"~~ C.B.F.

Miss Goldstein resigned as a member of the Hollenbeck Section, Eastern Division, Communist Party, and a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern California. She joined the Communist Party on November 30, 1937, and was active in Communist youth organizations, such as the Young Communist League and American Youth for Democracy. In 1951 she was organizer for the 40th Assembly District, Los Angeles County, Communist Party. She was a delegate to the Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, on January 5-6, 1957, and to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957. She was born in Lewiston, Maine, on January 23, 1919.

Occupation: Office worker.

~~Kaplan, Leonard "Kappy"~~

Kaplan's resignation created another vacancy on the Southern California District Council. He had held a position on this council since its inception in April of 1957. In 1949 Kaplan was an official of the Communist Party in San Francisco, Calif. Subsequently he and his wife, Celeste Strack Kaplan, were assigned to the Communist underground. He was born on January 1, 1913, in New York City.

~~Kaplan, Celeste Strack (Mrs. Leonard Kaplan)~~

Mrs. Kaplan had been a functionary in the Communist Party for many years. She was especially active in Communist-sponsored youth movements, the Young Communist League and its successor organizations, American Youth for Democracy and the Labor Youth League. She was an active member of the Zapata Section, Eastern Division, Communist Party, when she resigned. She was born Celeste Strack in 1915 in Illinois.

Occupation: Economist and journalist.

~~Klonsky, Robert~~

A recent arrival in Los Angeles, Klonsky was a Smith Act defendant in Philadelphia, Pa. He was formerly organizational secretary for the Communist Party in eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware. He was not a member, but regularly attended meetings, of the Southern California District Council, the governing body of the Communist

Party in Southern California. He recently opened a bookstore in Los Angeles.

Klonsky appeared as a witness before the committee on February 25, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity. He was born March 13, 1918, in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Occupation: Bookstore owner.

Lym, Frances

Originally from San Diego, Calif., where she was a leader in the Communist movement, Mrs. Lym has been active in eastern Los Angeles for the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and in Mexican-American affairs. She was born Francisca Flores in California on December 3, 1913.

Occupation: Office worker.

Newman, Horace Morton (Mort)

In the resignation of Newman, the Communist Party lost a capable organizer and diligent worker. He had been active in the Communist Party since 1936. In 1950 he was educational director for Los Angeles County. Subsequently, he was district organizer for the Communist Party in Portland, Oreg. After his return to Los Angeles he resumed activity in the Communist Party as a functionary. He was born November 4, 1914, in Pomona, Calif.

Occupation: Lithograph platemaker.

Rafalow, Philip

Rafalow's resignation created another vacancy on the Southern California District Council, Communist Party. He represented the Western Division (Santa Monica-Bay Cities). He was a delegate to the California State convention, Communist Party, on January 19-20, 1957, and to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957. He was active in the Independent Progressive Party, being a member of the Venice-Santa Monica Club of the IPP. In 1954 Rafalow was instrumental in raising money for the Smith Act defendants and was active in an organization called the Smith Act Defense Fund.

Rafalow appeared as a witness before the committee on February 25, 1959 and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity. He was born on May 17, 1925, in New York City.

Occupation: Plumbing contractor.

Steinberg, Henry Carl

From the Communist viewpoint, the resignation of Henry Steinberg was considered the most serious of the 16 resignations from the Southern District of California. A functionary of the Communist Party for years, he held positions both on the county, district, and State level. A Smith Act defendant, he was arrested in 1951; convicted August 5, 1952; and on August 7 sentenced to 5 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. The case was appealed and he was freed outright by the United States Supreme Court on June 17, 1957. He was born on August 12, 1912, in St. Louis, Mo.

Occupation: Salesman.

Wheeldin, Donald C.

Wheeldin, a high functionary in the Communist Party, resigned as a member of the staff of the West Coast Communist newspaper, the Daily People's World, a position he held since July 16, 1950. He was a member of the party's State Coordinating Committee; member of the Executive Board, Southern California District Council; and member of the Southern California District Minorities Commission. A subpoena was served on Wheeldin to appear before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on September 2, 1958. Wheeldin refused to appear and has been cited by the Congress for contempt. He was born February 12, 1914, in Hartford, Conn.

Occupation: Unemployed writer.

Wheeldin, Martha Hard (Mrs. Donald C. Wheeldin)

Mrs. Wheeldin has been a member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles since September 22, 1942, the date on which her membership in the Communist Party was transferred from Hartford, Conn. She has been active in women's organizations in the Pasadena area. With Mrs. Wheeldin's resignation, the Communist Party lost a capable organizer. In the past she had been a member of the Youth Commission, Communist Party; an organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, a union expelled from the CIO for Communist domination; a member of the Pasadena Peace Council and Civil Rights Congress. She is a social worker and also claims to be a child counselor. She was born Martha Snell on March 17, 1915, in Soochow, China, of American parents.

Occupation: Housewife.

Subsequent to the letter of resignation of March 26, 1958, three additional members of the Communist Party subscribed to the tenets of the letter and resigned. They are Sophie Kishner,¹³ Bessie Steinberg (Mrs. Henry Steinberg), and Mark Robinson.¹⁴

Healey as a Factionalist

An extremely interesting facet of the internal strife besetting the Communist Party of Southern California concerns the district's top officer, Dorothy Ray Healey.

This important party leader, as previously demonstrated in this report, has often served as a conciliator in the course of the internal bickering in her district, in an obvious effort to preserve the unity and existence of the party organization.

However, at sessions of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, of which she is also a member, Mrs. Healey herself is suspiciously viewed as a fomenter of dissension.

This opinion is completely justified according to the standards for proper Communist behavior, which traditionally calls for rigid adherence to, and preferably enthusiastic support for, all policies laid down at the national level or in the USSR. Mrs. Healey has been outspoken at national committee meetings against too rigid application of a "dictation from the top" policy which led so many of her own

¹³ Testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, September 3, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to all pertinent questions propounded by the committee.

¹⁴ Testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, February 28, 1959, and invoked the first amendment in response to all pertinent questions propounded by the committee.

district party members to resign and she has not hesitated to criticize the party's most powerful leaders (and staunchest devotees of Khrushchev)—including national chairman William Z. Foster and national secretary Eugene Dennis.

At a meeting of the national committee in New York City in June 1958, Dennis presented a report which laid down the party line for all Communists in the United States on foreign policy issues (See Appendix, Ex. XV, pp. 100-110). Mrs. Healey fought the report at the national committee meeting, complaining against its Soviet-style attack on Tito and its attempted justification of the execution of Hungarian premier Imre Nagy. On the same occasion, she bitterly attacked fellow committee member Bob Thompson's report, outlining future party working procedures, for its "dictatorial" tones (See Report "On the Work and Consolidation of the Party," by Bob Thompson, Appendix, Ex. XVI, pp. 110-120).

Another member of the national committee has charged Mrs. Healey with "Titoism" and proposed her ouster from leadership of the Southern California District of the Communist Party. From time to time a fellow district council member has made a similar proposal at council meetings. This stormy petrel was still in her important post at the time of the preparation of this report, however.

As Mrs. Healey herself has complained, the national committee of the party has clipped her wings to the extent of refusing to accept anyone nominated by her for membership on the national executive committee of the national committee. The national committee, with representatives from every district or State, can have as many as 60 members, but the executive committee is composed of 15 national committee members and in fact constitutes the major policy body of the Communist Party, USA. The Southern California District, therefore, is in an anomalous position. It is the second largest party district in the entire United States but it has no representation on the important national executive committee.

The 62-member District Council which Healey heads in most instances proceeds to endorse policy statements of the national committee, even when objections have been raised by the district chairman. For example, the district council on July 27, 1958, obediently voted to carry out the party line embodied in the aforementioned Dennis and Thompson reports, despite Mrs. Healey's protests against such unqualified endorsement. Pettis Perry appears to be Mrs. Healey's chief opponent when issues are raised and it is entirely possible that Mrs. Healey will be ousted whenever national party leaders can be confident the action would not jeopardize one of its most important and active operations in the United States.

LEADERSHIP

The committee herewith lists 9 of the 10 members of the Executive Board, Southern California District of the Communist Party. The tenth member, Donald C. Wheeldin, resigned from the Communist Party on March 26, 1958, and the vacancy has not been filled.

HEALEY, DOROTHY RAY (MRS. PHILIP CONNELLY)

As chairman of the Communist Party's new Southern California District, Mrs. Healey is also a member of the executive board of the district council. Born Dorothy Rosenblum on September 22,

11917

1914 in Denyer, Colo., she was active in the Young Communist League in southern California in the 1930's under the name of Dorothy Ray. She later worked her way up to such positions as organizational secretary for the Los Angeles County Communist Party, and chairman of the county organization. Mrs. Healey was arrested for violation of the Smith Act in 1951, convicted on August 5, 1952, and on August 7 was sentenced to 5 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, the ruling of the lower courts was reversed and she was granted a new trial. The Federal Court, Los Angeles, upon recommendation of the United States attorney, dismissed the indictment. Mrs. Healey's previous experience as organizer and administrator for the party in Los Angeles County is an invaluable asset in her present difficult role as leader of the second largest party district in the United States. Her dedication to the party organization, in spite of internal differences previously described in this report, was evidenced by her announcement at a meeting of the District Council on December 21, 1958 to the effect that all club members in the area should embark on an evaluation of persons who have recently quit the party in order to make a determined effort to influence their return to the party. She appeared before the committee on September 2, 1958, and declined to answer questions about the Communist Party Southern District of California. Mrs. Healey relied on the fifth amendment to conceal the internal machinations of the Communist Party.

Occupation: Professional Communist.

ALEXANDER, HORACE V.

A member of the executive board of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party, Alexander is also on the District Minorities Commission of the party. In 1950 and 1952, he was a member of the State Central Committee of the Independent Progressive Party in California and in 1954 chairman of that top committee of the Independent Progressive Party. In 1948 he was State vice chairman of the Students for Wallace. In 1954, he was the Independent Progressive Party candidate for secretary of state of California. In 1956 he was a member of the advisory board, California Legislative Conference and was trustee for the Emergency Press Committee, which was established to raise funds for the West Coast Communist organ, the Daily People's World. He is active in the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the Los Angeles Negro Labor Council. Alexander, a witness before the committee on September 2, 1958, invoked the fifth amendment when asked questions concerning the Communist Party. He was born on May 17, 1924, in Texas.

Occupation: Machine shop foreman.

CREED, THOMAS

Creed is a member of the executive board Southern California District Council of the Communist Party, and a member of the District Labor Commission, Communist Party. In 1951 he was a member of the Haywood Section, Communist Party, and organizer of the Foster Section (labor), Communist Party, Los Angeles. In 1952 charges were filed against him by members of Chrysler Local 230, United Auto Workers, for "conduct unbecoming a union member." Local 230

B. 4-15-19

suspended Creed from union membership for 1 year and fined him \$100. The case was appealed to the national level of United Auto Workers, reversed, and he was reinstated to union membership. He has been active in the Los Angeles Negro Labor Council and represented the Negro Labor Council as a delegate to its national convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1952. He was a delegate to both the Los Angeles County convention of the Communist Party January 5-6, 1957, and the party's Southern California District convention, April 13-14, 1957. He was born on April 15, 1919, at Muscle Shoals, Ala.

In hearings held in Los Angeles, Creed was subpoenaed and appeared as a witness on September 2, 1958. He invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions asked by the committee.

Occupation: Auto worker.

~~C~~ **CROWE, CORNELIUS CHARLES "NEIL"**

Crowe, a member of the executive board of the Communist Party, Southern California District Council, is also a member of the Labor Commission, Communist Party, Southern California District. In 1944 he was the Communist Party organizer for the Harbor Section and marine coordinator for the Communist Party in the Los Angeles area. For the year 1951 Crowe was organizational secretary, Los Angeles County Communist Party. On April 13-14, 1957, he was a delegate to the party's Southern California District convention in Los Angeles. He was born on February 11, 1914, in New York City.

Occupation: Seaman.

~~D~~ **DOBBS, BEN**

Dobbs is administrative secretary for the Communist Party's Southern California District as well as a member of the executive board of the Southern California District Council. He attended three Communist Party conventions during the first quarter of 1957: the Los Angeles County conference on January 5-6, the California State convention on January 19-20, and the Southern California District convention on April 13-14. Dobbs joined the Communist Party November 14, 1933, at the age of 21. His first activity was in the Young Communist League. In 1938 he was State administrative secretary for the Young Communist League. In 1948, 1949, and 1950 he was labor secretary, Communist Party, Los Angeles County. Dobbs was arrested in September of 1951 for violation of the Smith Act and convicted on August 5, 1952, of conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government. The sentence received by Dobbs, 5 years in prison and \$10,000 fine, was appealed to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court reversed the decision of the lower courts and Dobbs was granted a new trial. The indictment was subsequently dismissed upon recommendation of the United States attorney. He was born on February 23, 1912, in New York.

Occupation: Clerk.

~~F~~ **FOREST, JAMES FREDERICK**

Forest is another Smith Act defendant, who was arrested in 1952 in St. Louis, Mo. At the time of his arrest he was chairman of the Communist Party for the State of Missouri. He was subsequently convicted and sentenced. The case was appealed to the Circuit Court

8-8-10

and remanded on April 4, 1958, to the District Court for a new trial. On October 10, 1958, it was dismissed on motion of the Government. He currently holds the position of educational director, Communist Party, Southern District of California. In this position of educational director he has charge of the dissemination of Communist propaganda in southern California. He was a delegate to the California State convention, Communist Party, on January 19-20, 1957, and also a delegate to the Southern California District convention on April 13-14, 1957. Forest is a member of the executive board of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party. In 1957 he was elected to a State coordinating committee of the Communist Party. He is consistently used as an instructor on Marxism. His dedication to the Communist cause has been consistent over a long period of years. He was born August 8, 1910, in Cambridge, Mass.

Occupation: Employee of a contracting firm.

LUSHER, BERNARD

Lusher is the labor secretary for the Southern California District of the Communist Party as well as a member of the executive board of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party. A capable organizer and dedicated Communist in charge of the Communist program of infiltrating organized labor, he was a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on March 28, 1953, at which time he invoked the fifth amendment. He was born in April 1913 in Cleveland, Ohio.

Occupation: Clerk.

MITCHELL, CHARLENE (MRS. WILLIAM MITCHELL)

Mrs. Mitchell was born June 8, 1930, in Ohio. Her maiden name was Charlene Alexander. She is co-chairman of the District Youth Commission and assigned on a full-time paid basis to the Communist youth recruitment program. She is also membership chairman of the Southern California District of the Communist Party, and a member of the executive board. She served on the California State Auditing Committee of the Communist Party. Attending the national convention of the Communist Party in New York City in February of 1957 as a delegate representing Southern California, she was elected a member-at-large of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA. She was originally in the Communist movement in Chicago and was sent to Los Angeles to spearhead the Communist Party youth movement. Her past activities in California were centered in the Labor Youth League (now defunct). Mrs. Mitchell, questioned by the committee in Los Angeles on February 24, 1959, avoided being responsive to questions by relying on the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Occupation: Professional Communist.

SPARKS, NEMMY

Sparks was born Nehemiah Ish-Kishor on March 6, 1899, in London, England. He received derivative citizenship on December 13, 1913, in New York City by virtue of the naturalization of his father (Ephraim Ish-Kishor). He is a member of the executive

board of the Southern California District Council and legislative director for the party's Southern California District. He joined the Communist Party in 1922. In 1930 he was in Moscow, Russia, as one of the American representatives at an international trade union congress. He has held various positions in the Communist Party throughout the United States—member of the district executive committee, Seattle, Wash.; district organizer, Pittsburgh, Pa.; district organizer, Boston, Mass.; instructor, Workers School in New York City; chairman, Communist Party, in Wisconsin; alternate member, National Committee, Communist Political Association. In 1945 he was transferred by the Communist Party from Wisconsin to Los Angeles and replaced Carl Winter as head of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County. Since his arrival in Los Angeles, he has held numerous functionary positions in the Communist Party on the county and State and district levels.

Occupation: Professional Communist.

Other Party Personalities

When the Southern California District was created, the Communist Party found it had a vast reservoir of seasoned members to help guide the affairs of the new party apparatus. The following is a list of some of the more prominent members of the party in southern California, many of whom were elevated to new official posts created as a result of the party reorganization in 1957.

ALEXANDER, HERSCHEL WILLIAM

Alexander joined the Communist Party on July 27, 1936. In the early years of his Communist Party membership he was active in youth organizations and an organizer for the Young Communist League. In 1938 he was a member of the State Central Committee, Young Communist League; a delegate to the Eighth National Convention of the Young Communist League in New York on May 2-5, 1937; a member of the Los Angeles County Executive Committee, Communist Party, in 1944, and at one time a member of the California State Central Committee, Communist Party.

He has had training in Communist Party sponsored schools and union organization work for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. In 1948 Alexander was a member of the California State Central Committee, Independent Progressive Party. He attended the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention on January 6, 1957, and the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957. A subpoena was served on Alexander, but later canceled upon presentation of a medical certificate. He was born on March 17, 1914, in Nebraska.

Occupation: Self-employed shoemaker.

ARKIN, DAVID FRANCIS

Arkin, a schoolteacher by profession, was employed by the Los Angeles City Board of Education from 1947 to 1953, at which time he was discharged from his position under the provisions of the Dilworth Act. He is a member of the party's Zapata Section in the eastern part of Los Angeles. His primary activity has been directed toward

B-11 12-11-56 NY:

youth work and he has been utilized as an instructor and speaker before Communist-front organizations. The Southern California District convention was held in Los Angeles on April 13-14, 1957. Arkin was a delegate to the convention. He appeared as a witness before the committee on September 2, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity. David Francis Arkin was born in New York City on December 19, 1906.

Occupation: Self-employed draftsman.

~~X~~ATINSKY, JERRY JULIUS

Atinsky is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. He is active in Communist-front organizations and as a folk singer, entertains for such groups. He has performed for the Los Angeles Rosenberg-Sobell Committee; Independent Progressive Party; Smith Act Defense Fund; Song Makers of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council of Southern California; Civil Rights Congress; United May Day Committee, and Southern California Peace Crusade. On January 6, 1957, he was present and a delegate to the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention. On September 5, 1958, Atinsky invoked the fifth amendment in answer to pertinent questions propounded by the committee. He was born October 9, 1917, in Milwaukee, Wis.

Occupation: Parking lot operator.

~~X~~BAEFSKY, LEO

Baefsky has been connected with youth groups of the Communist Party since his days as a student at the University of California at Los Angeles. In 1945, while at the University of California, he was executive secretary of the Four Freedoms Club of the American Youth for Democracy and on the editorial staff of its publication "Campus Currents." His activity has been concentrated in youth groups since he first became interested in the Communist movement in 1945. He was present at the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957, in Los Angeles. Baefsky, on September 5, 1958, invoked the fifth amendment before the committee in Los Angeles. He was born on July 6, 1919, in Chicago, Ill.

Occupation: Accountant.

~~X~~BIBER, STELLA C. (MRS. HENRY J. BIBER)

Mrs. Biber was born Stella Choyke on September 11, 1902, in New York City. She has been active in the Independent Progressive Party and the Los Angeles Negro Labor Council. In 1949 she was a member of the executive board of the Wiggins Club of the Communist Party, Los Angeles County. She was organizational secretary of the 62d Assembly District, Communist Party, Los Angeles, in 1951. The Southern California District convention, Communist Party, was held in Los Angeles on April 13-14, 1957. Mrs. Biber was a delegate to the convention.

B. 1.

Mrs. Biber appeared as a witness before the committee on September 3, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Bookkeeper.

~~BISKAR, ETHEL (MRS. HERBERT MORRIS) BISKAR~~

Mrs. Biskar was born Ethel Hoffman on April 3, 1935, in New York City. She is co-chairman of the Youth Commission, Southern California District of the Communist Party. She was known to have been a member of the Los Angeles County Labor Youth League. She was a delegate to the California State convention of the Communist Party on January 20, 1957, and in attendance at the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957, in Los Angeles. Her assigned activity is youth work.

Mrs. Biskar appeared as a witness before the committee on February 24, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Telephone company employee.

~~BISKAR, HERBERT MORRIS~~

Biskar was born in Washington, D. C., on November 19, 1933. He has been active in Communist inspired and controlled youth movements in the County of Los Angeles. In 1956, he was chairman of the students division of the Labor Youth League (now defunct). On April 5, 1957, he was present at a meeting of former members of the Labor Youth League which was dissolved on February 24, 1957. It was decided at this meeting that the successor organization of the Labor Youth League would be the Los Angeles County Progressive Youth League, but the new organization never got out of the planning stage. He was a participant in the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957, in Los Angeles, Calif.

Biskar appeared as a witness before the committee on September 3, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Shipping clerk.

~~BISKAR, MARVIN~~

The attention of the Committee on Un-American Activities was first drawn to Marvin Biskar while he was a student at George Washington University in Washington, D. C., in the midforties. While a student he was active in Communist activities on the campus. He has continued his activities in Communist Party youth work until the present time. On January 5-6, 1957, he was a delegate to the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention, and on April 13-14, 1957, a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, in Los Angeles. He was born April 17, 1927, in Washington, D. C.

Biskar appeared as a witness before the committee on September 3, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Sheet-metal worker.

~~BLAIR, HELEN~~

Helen Blair was active in the Southern California Chapter of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council (now defunct) over a period of years. She was office manager, a member of the executive board and of a number of the steering committees of the organization. She has participated in the functions of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. On April 13-14, 1957, the Southern California District, Communist Party, held its first convention. Helen Blair was a delegate to the convention. She was born June 16, 1899, in Morenci, Mich.

Miss Blair appeared as a witness before the committee on February 24, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Stenographer.

~~BLAIR, NAOMI CLAIRE "NAN"~~

Naomi Claire Blair, born on March 21, 1902, in Berlin, Wis., is a member of the Zapata Section of the Communist Party and an observer to the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. She was extremely active in the Independent Progressive Party, having been a member of the California State Central Committee for the year 1954. Miss Blair has concentrated her work for the Communist Party in the Downtown Club, formerly known as the Downtown Club Independent Progressive Party, an organization which arranges for and sponsors speakers acceptable from the Communist viewpoint. In addition, she has participated in the activities of the Civil Rights Congress and the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Miss Blair appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Nurse.

~~BOYD, ROSE~~

Rose Boyd was born Rose Rubin on January 21, 1902. Documents reviewed by the committee disagree on her place of birth. Her father, Russian born, states on his naturalization papers that she was born in New York City; however, Rose Boyd in her scholastic records claims birth in Russia. According to evidence in the committee's possession she was trained at an organizers school in Moscow, Russia, and was assigned for a short time by the Communist International to work in Germany. In the mid-thirties she was back in the United States working directly as an agent for the Soviet Union.

She is a charter member of the Communist Party and has received additional training in the county, State, and national Communist Party training schools. She appeared before the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities on December 8, 1954, at which time she pleaded the fifth amendment in response to all questions concerning her activity and membership in the Communist Party. Her appearance was noted at the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957, in Los Angeles.

Occupation: Insurance agent.

~~BRIGGS, CYRIL VALENTINE~~

Briggs, born May 28, 1888, in Nevis, British West Indies, became a naturalized American citizen in New York City on August 6, 1918, according to naturalization records. He has been a writer and propagandist for the Communist Party over a long period of years. In 1950 he was an active leader in the West Coast underground of the Communist Party. In 1956 he was educational director of the Juarez Club, Los Angeles County Communist Party. On January 5-6, 1957, he was a delegate to the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention, 607 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles. He was also a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957, and has subsequently attended meetings of the district council. He is currently assigned to the Zapata Section, Communist Party, Southern District of California.

Briggs appeared as a witness before the committee on September 3, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Newspaperman.

~~BRODSKY, SEYMOUR DOUGLAS~~

Brodsky has been active in the Communist movement since 1935, at which time he was a member of the Young Communist League. He joined the Communist Party in 1940 and has held various functional positions. In 1950 he was the organizer for the Western Division of the Los Angeles County Communist Party. His entire history in the Communist Party has been dedicated to organizational work and building up numerical strength of the Communist Party. He was present at the Southern California District convention held in Los Angeles, Calif., on April 13-14, 1957. He was born October 26, 1916, in Johnstown, Pa., and moved to California in 1921.

Brodsky appeared as a witness before the committee on February 24, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Drugstore employee.

~~BYLER, MARGARETE ANN (MRS. ALBERT E. BYLER)~~

Mrs. Byler was born ^{W.E.} ~~Margarete Ann~~ Haller on June 14, 1909, in Hamuthsachsen, Germany. She became a United States citizen in Los Angeles on July 12, 1940. Her main activity for the Communist Party has been centered in Communist front groups, such as the Independent Progressive Party and in community organizations. She was in attendance at the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957.

Mrs. Byler appeared as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Housewife.

~~COHEN, AARON K.~~

NY The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities disclose Cohen was organizational secretary, 16th Congressional District, Communist Party, Los Angeles County, for the year 1946. His record reflects he has been active in the Independent Progressive Party,

B. ... 1-8 NY

having been a member of the Beverly-Fairfax Club of the Independent Progressive Party. In 1951 he was assigned by the Communist Party to work in Jewish organizations, an assignment in which he is still active. He was a delegate to three recent Communist Party conventions; the Los Angeles County convention on January 5-6, 1957, the California State convention on January 19-20, 1957, and the Southern California District convention on April 13-14, 1957. He is a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party. Cohen was born in Russia on July 8, 1904, and received derivative citizenship by virtue of his father's (Kalman Cohen) naturalization by decree of court on May 16, 1916, in New York.

Occupation: Jobber.

~~CONNELLY, PHILIP MARSHAL "SLIM"~~

Connelly, a leader in the Communist Party since becoming a member in 1938, is a specialist in the field of labor. He was at one time president of the California State CIO Council. His usefulness to the Communist Party in the field of labor has been neutralized by anti-Communist labor leaders. Now editor of the Daily People's World, West Coast Communist paper, Connelly has held nearly every position of authority the Communist Party can offer. In September 1951 he was arrested for violation of the Smith Act, convicted on August 5, 1952, and received a 5-year sentence and \$10,000 fine. The conviction was appealed to the Supreme Court. The decision rendered by the Supreme Court reversed the conviction. Connelly was born December 23, 1903, in Everett, Pa.

Occupation: Editor, Daily People's World.

~~DAWSON, ADMIRAL GEORGE~~

Dawson was a delegate to the California State convention, Communist Party, on January 19-20, 1957, and also a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957. He has been very active in the functions of the Labor Youth League (defunct) in Los Angeles. In 1956 he was legislative director, Los Angeles County, Labor Youth League. A former private in the United States Army, he was given an undesirable discharge for refusing to sign the required loyalty oath. Dawson was born April 26, 1927, in Summerville, Tex.

Dawson appeared as a witness before the committee on February 24, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Plumber.

~~DOBBS, ADA (MRS. BEN DOBBS)~~

Mrs. Dobbs, born Ada Martin on October 22, 1915, in Palo Alto, Calif., was a delegate to the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention on January 5-6, 1957; the California State convention, Communist Party, on January 19-20, 1957; the Southern California District convention on April 13-14, 1957. A former organizational secretary of the Eastern Division, Communist Party, Los Angeles County, she was also treasurer of the Political Prisoners Welfare Committee.

Occupation: Factory worker.

~~X~~ DUGDALE, BERT O.

Dugdale, considered to be the nominal head of the Communist Party in Orange County, Calif., was formerly a Communist functionary in San Diego County. In San Diego he was active in the San Diego Peace Forum, the Civil Rights Congress, and the Independent Progressive Party. He appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities as a witness on July 5, 1955, in San Diego, Calif. He invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions concerning the Communist Party and related organizations. He was born on June 6, 1903, in Pomona, Calif.

Occupation: Landscaper.

~~X~~ ENDE, ALEX

Ende is presently assigned as secretary of the Building Trades Section of the Southern California District of the Communist Party. He is also a member of the Southern California District Council of the Communist Party. Due to his Communist assignment in labor, his activities in other fields are restricted. His record reflects, however, that he has participated in the functions of the Los Angeles Negro Labor Council, Independent Progressive Party, and the Civil Rights Congress. He was born August 19, 1916, in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Ende appeared as a witness before the committee on September 3, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Electrician.

~~X~~ ENFIJIAN, EDWARD M.

Enfijian, formerly a member of the Youth Commission, Communist Party, Southern District of California, has been elevated to a leadership position in the Echo Park Section of the Communist Party. He was a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on February 24, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to all pertinent questions. He was born in Los Angeles in 1928.

Occupation: Engraver.

~~X~~ FINK, HERBERT

Fink, also known as Herbert March, was born November 8, 1912, in New York City. He is a former union organizer for the Packinghouse Workers of America in Chicago, Ill. He was sent to California by the packinghouse workers in 1955, but is no longer active as a union organizer. He is, however, active in union work for the Communist Party and is currently a member of Local 108, Sheet Metal Workers, AFL. The Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Chicago in September of 1952 at which time Fink appeared as a witness. He invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about membership in the Communist Party and related issues. He was a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957, in Los Angeles, Calif.

Occupation: Sheet-metal worker.

~~FOREST, DOROTHY ROSE (MRS. JAMES FREDERICK FOREST)~~

~~Mrs. Forest was born Dorothy Rose Baskin on May 23, 1915, in New York. She is a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party. She, with her husband, James Frederick Forest, was arrested for violation of the Smith Act in 1952. The trial was held in St. Louis, Mo., where Mrs. Forest was then an active Communist Party functionary. She was convicted and sentenced to a 3-year term in prison. The case was appealed to the Circuit Court and remanded on April 4, 1958, to the District Court for a new trial. On October 10, 1958, it was dismissed on motion of the Government. In 1956 she was director-secretary to the California Emergency Defense Committee, an organization whose primary function was to raise money for the convicted California Smith Act defendants. She was a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957.~~

~~Occupation: Office worker, housewife.~~

~~FREED, EMIL~~

~~Freed, a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party, has been active in the Communist Party since 1934. In 1938 he ran for Congress on the Communist Party ticket, 15th Congressional District; in 1943 he was a member of the Machinists Branch, Communist Party; in 1944 a member of the California State Commission on State Leadership; in 1945 a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party. He has held functionary positions in the Communist Party for years. In 1952 he was organizational secretary, Civil Rights Congress. Freed was a delegate to three Communist Party conventions held during the first quarter of 1957: the Los Angeles County convention, the California State convention, and the Southern California District convention. He was born on June 25, 1901, in New York.~~

~~Occupation: Professional Communist.~~

~~FREED, TASHIA HIRSH (MRS. EMIL FREED)~~

~~Mrs. Freed, born in Russia in 1905, received derivative citizenship from her father, Ben Hirsh, in 1921. She joined the Communist Party in 1936 and has devoted her time to the Communist program subsequent to that date. Since joining the Communist Party she has held various positions on the club and county level. In 1944 she was press director, Hollywood Club, Northwest Section; in 1943 she was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, Los Angeles County. Her activity in mass organizations includes membership in the Civil Rights Congress, the West Side Committee Against Renazification of Germany, and the Independent Progressive Party. She was a member of the State Central Committee of the latter organization in 1950.~~

~~Mrs. Freed registered as a Communist voter, Los Angeles County, on the following dates: January 21, 1936; September 23, 1938; September 23, 1940. She was a delegate to two Communist Party conventions in 1957, the Los Angeles County convention on January 5-6, and the Southern California District convention on April 13-14.~~

She was a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 30, 1955, refusing to testify on constitutional grounds.

Occupation: Housewife, clerk.

~~AGLADSTONE, CHARLES~~

Gladstone, known as Charles Young, was born in Zinkow, Russia, on August 15, 1905. He was naturalized by decree of court on June 8, 1928, in New York City. Gladstone appeared as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on December 6, 1956. He pleaded the fifth amendment when asked questions relating to Communist Party membership and Communist activity. Committee records reflect that he joined the Communist Party in 1933. He has held various positions of authority since that date. At one time he was on the Los Angeles County Board, Communist Party. He was a delegate to three Communist Party conventions in 1957, the Los Angeles County convention on January 5-6, the California State convention on January 19-20, and the Southern California District convention on April 13-14. He is currently active in the Labor Division, Needle Trades Section, of the Communist Party.

Occupation: Employee, clothing manufacturing company.

~~GOLDMAN, SHIFRA (MRS. ALBERT GOLDMAN)~~

Mrs. Goldman is a member of the Youth Commission, Communist Party, Southern District of California. Her assignment for the Communist Party is the indoctrination and recruitment of young people into the Communist Party. Mrs. Goldman has organized and is in charge of a youth group known as the "Shifra Goldman Study Group." She was born Shifra Meyerowitz in New York in 1926. Prior to her marriage she was known as Shifra Meyers.

Mrs. Goldman appeared as a witness before the committee on February 24, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Bookkeeper.

~~GOLDNER, SANFORD~~

Goldner, a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party, is also head of the District Jewish Commission, Communist Party. He is a former resident of San Francisco, Calif., and former member of the Communist Party Professional Section, San Francisco. He is active in the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. In 1951, Goldner was cultural director, Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order. His principal activity is Communist infiltration of Jewish organizations. In December of 1956 he appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities and pleaded the fifth amendment. Goldner has been a delegate to recent Communist Party conventions in Los Angeles, Calif. He was born on September 13, 1908, in San Francisco, Calif.

Occupation: Professional Communist.

NEE

~~X~~ GOSMAN, LORRIS

Gosman was a delegate to the Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, on January 5-6, 1957. On April 13-14, 1957, he was in attendance at the Southern California District convention, Communist Party. He has been active in the Independent Progressive Party, Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Citizens Committee To Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs, American Peace Crusade, and the Civil Rights Congress. He was born January 16, 1913, in New York City.

Gosman appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Salesman.

~~X~~ GOSMAN, MOLLIE (MRS. LORRIS GOSMAN)

Mrs. Gosman, born Mollie Wilinsky on December 16, 1915, in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, received derivative citizenship by her father's (Harry Wilinsky) naturalization. She was particularly active in the Independent Progressive Party, being a member of the executive board in 1953, and in 1952 and 1954 a member of the California State-Central Committee, Independent Progressive Party. Mrs. Gosman has participated in the functions of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee To Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs, American Peace Crusade, and the Civil Rights Congress. She attended as a delegate the Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, and the Southern California District convention, Communist Party. Both conventions were held in 1957. A subpoena issued by the committee for Mrs. Gosman could not be served.

Occupation: Housewife.

~~X~~ HENRICKSON, ELLIE (MRS. STANLEY WILLIAM HENRICKSON)

Mrs. Henrickson was born Ellie Gutman on February 26, 1922, in Munich, Germany, and naturalized by decree of court on June 5, 1944, in San Francisco, Calif. A former resident of the State of Washington, she was a member and officer in the Everett Section of the Communist Party. During the course of hearings conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities in Seattle, Wash., Stanley William Henrickson, husband of Ellie Henrickson, was called as a witness on June 24, 1954, at which time he invoked the fifth amendment to all questions pertaining to communism. Subsequent to that time Mr. and Mrs. Henrickson moved to Los Angeles where both resumed activity in the Communist movement. Mrs. Henrickson is a member of the Zapata Section of the Communist Party. She was a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957. She is currently employed by a private social service organization as a caseworker, using a name other than Henrickson.

Mrs. Henrickson appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Social worker.

* HUNT, HARRY SIMON

A member of the District Council, Southern District of California, Hunt is a strong supporter of Dorothy Healey and has defended her from the floor of District Council meetings. Hunt was first active in the Communist Party in San Diego, Calif. He was born Harold Schlasberg in New York, N.Y., February 26, 1907. Hunt was subpoenaed for appearance before the committee in Los Angeles on February 25, 1959, at which time he declined to answer pertinent questions and relied on the fifth amendment.

Occupation: Painter.

* ISHIHARA, SAKAE

Ishihara was an active sponsor of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born since 1953, and also a sponsor of its Sixth Annual Southern California Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and to Defend its Victims. Mr. Ishihara's primary function for the Communist Party has been to oppose Federal legislation controlling alien subversives. On April 13-14, 1957, he attended the Southern California District Convention, Communist Party, in Los Angeles, Calif. He was born in Dominguez, Calif., on April 20, 1921. Ishihara invoked the fifth amendment in an appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Los Angeles on September 3, 1958.

Occupation: Printer.

* JACKSON, ELIZABETH RICARDO

Mrs. Jackson, born Elizabeth Smith on November 13, 1913, in Stamford, Conn., is a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party. She was a delegate to the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention on January 5-6, 1957, and a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957. Her activity has been organizational work for the Communist Party in the Negro community. She was a member of the Civil Rights Congress and the Independent Progressive Party, being a member of the Olympic Club of the latter organization.

Mrs. Jackson signed the letter of grievances of December 14, 1957, addressed to National Committee, CPUSA. Nothing has been developed to indicate, subsequent to the date of the letter, that she resigned from the Communist Party.

She appeared as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Housewife.

* JOSEPHSON, JESSIE EILEEN

Jessie Eileen Josephson was born April 27, 1919, in Leeds, England. She received derivative citizenship by virtue of her father's (Julius Josephson) naturalization in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 11, 1928. The controlling body of the Communist Party, Southern District of California, is known as the district council. Miss Josephson is a member of this district council. In 1957 she held dual membership in the Labor Youth League and the Communist Party. She attended the

Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, held January 5-6, 1957, and was a delegate representing the Labor Youth League. She has been particularly active in the Community Service Organization, a non-Communist organization in East Los Angeles. In addition, she has participated in the activities of the May Day Committee, the American Russian Institute, the Southern California Peace Crusade, the Los Angeles Rosenberg-Sobell Committee, the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Independent Progressive Party, the Civil Rights Congress, the Wells Defense Committee, and the Eastside Defense Committee.

Miss Josephson appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Packinghouse employee, "carton boxer."

~~X~~ KARR, BEN

Karr, a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California, is a member of, and active in, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He represents himself as a "trade unionist" when carrying out assignments for the Communist Party. He is a member of the Needle Trades Section of the Communist Party. He was present at the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957. He was born on May 1, 1916, in New York City.

Karr appeared as a witness before the committee on February 25, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Presser since 1949.

~~X~~ KARSON, MORRIS R. "RED"

Karson, born ~~Moshe~~ Karzson on June 20, 1909, in Karetz, Poland, received derivative citizenship on December 20, 1922, in St. Paul, Minn. Karson has been a Communist functionary for years. He first became active in the early 1930's in Minnesota and Midwestern States. He attends meetings of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. The Los Angeles County Communist Party convention was held January 5-6, 1957, and the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, was held April 13-14, 1957. Karson was a delegate to both conventions. In 1957 he attended the May Day rally, a meeting sponsored by the Communist Party in celebration of the Russian Revolution. An official of the Bay Cities Section, Communist Party, Southern District of California, Karson is one of the most active members of the section. A subpoena was served on Karson but later canceled upon presentation of a medical certificate.

Occupation: Plumber.

~~X~~ KATZ, ELI

Katz is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. He was a delegate to the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention on January 5-6, 1957, and to the California State convention, Communist Party, on January 19-20, 1957. His activities, by direction of the Communist Party, have been

Born 5-12-28 Brooklyn, N.Y.
Lith...

44 SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

centered in youth movements. He was also active in the Los Angeles Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. In 1956 he was an instructor for a new series of Marxist classes on "Political Economy." He was born on August 10, 1928, in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Katz appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Lithographer.

~~X~~ KOVNER, JULIUS

Kovner, expelled from membership in Carpenters Local 1913, AFL, in 1951 for Communist activity, has continued to support Communist Party programs to date. A delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957, he represented the San Fernando Valley Section of the Communist Party. Extremely active in the Independent Progressive Party, he was a member of the Studio City Club, Independent Progressive Party, and in 1948 and 1954 a member of the California State Central Committee, Independent Progressive Party. In recent years Kovner has isolated himself from Communist front organizations and has worked in the labor field. He was born in Hartford, Conn., on September 18, 1912.

Kovner appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Teamster.

~~X~~ KUSNITZ, ROSE ^{nee} CHERNIN (MRS. PAUL KUSNITZ)

Mrs. Kusnitz, born Rachmiel Chernin on September 14, 1902, in Gashniky, Russia, was naturalized by decree of court on February 15, 1929, in New York City. A Smith Act defendant, she was arrested in September of 1951; convicted on August 5, 1952, of conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government; and on August 7, 1952, sentenced to 5 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, the ruling of the lower courts reversed, and Mrs. Kusnitz set free. In 1953 denaturalization proceedings were instituted against Mrs. Kusnitz by the Government in the Federal court, Los Angeles. The court ruled the Government's evidence was insufficient and she retained her citizenship. She is executive director for the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a Communist front organized for the purpose of opposing legislation protecting the internal security of the United States. She testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on December 7, 1956, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to all pertinent questions.

Occupation: Executive director, Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

~~X~~ KYKYRI, JOHN

Kykyri, a former organizer of the Communist Party in San Diego, Calif., was employed by the Communist paper, the Daily People's World, in Los Angeles, Calif., in 1955. He was active in the Independent Progressive Party in San Diego and other Communist fronts in San Diego County. Kykyri was a witness before the Committee on

*Born 12-13-98 San Diego, Minn.
Daily People's World*

Un-American Activities on July 5, 1955, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions propounded by the committee regarding the Communist Party. He was a delegate to the party's Southern California District convention on April 13-14, 1957. He was born in Sparta, Minn., on December 13, 1898.

Occupation: Newspaper reporter.

~~LONDON, SIDNEY~~

Prior to moving to Los Angeles in 1948, London was active in the Communist movement in New York State. He was first active in the Young Communist League in 1940 and in 1941 was secretary to the Young Communist League's Educational Bureau. Mr. London, upon arriving in Los Angeles, became active in the labor field for the Communist Party. He signed the letter of grievances of December 14, 1957, to the National Committee, Communist Party of the U. S. A. Although he expressed dissatisfaction with the Communist Party national leadership, no record was found of a subsequent resignation. London was a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on April 21, 1956, and relied on the fifth amendment concerning questions based on his activity in the Communist Party. He was born May 7, 1914, Youngstown, Ohio.

Occupation: Shipping clerk.

~~LUSHER, ROSEMARY (HASKELL) (MRS. BERNARD LUSHER)~~

Mrs. Lusher, an active member of the Communist Party, admittedly the current executive director of the American Russian Institute in Los Angeles, Calif., since 1955 and as late as April 1958, was born Rosemary Wyld in Vermillion, Alberta, Canada, on September 1, 1923. She became a United States citizen by decree of court on November 8, 1946, in Los Angeles, Calif. Before assuming her current position she was active in the Los Angeles Civil Rights Congress, the Southern California Council To Abolish the Un-American Committee, the Independent Progressive Party, the Young Progressives of America, the Southern California Peace Crusade, and the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The American Russian Institute is currently campaigning for increased cultural exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mrs. Lusher appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Executive director, American Russian Institute, Los Angeles.

~~MacNAIR, ARCHIBALD LAMONT, JR.~~

MacNair attended the Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, on January 5-6, 1957, and the Southern California District convention held on April 13-14, 1957. On May 1, 1957, MacNair was present at the May Day rally, sponsored by the Communist Party in celebration of the Russian revolution. His activities in the Communist Party have been camouflaged due to his work in the labor field. Actually, he has served as educational director of the Miscellaneous Industrial Section of the party's Southern California District. He was born on October 9, 1921, in Chicago, Ill.

MacNair appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Mason tender.

~~X~~ MARSHALL, BERTHA

Bertha Marshall, born Bertha Koppersmith on April 19, 1901, in Stordzyentz, Rumania, was naturalized on May 21, 1928, in New York. She has been active in politics in East Los Angeles. Her Communist assignment is to work within a major political party. She was previously active in the Independent Progressive Party. The Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, was held on January 5-6, 1957. She was a delegate to this convention and was also a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957.

She appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Secretary.

~~X~~ MAYMUDES, AUGUST

Maymudes, a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on February 24, 1959, invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions pertaining to his current position as a member of the Youth Commission, Communist Party, Southern District, California. He was born in New York City on August 25, 1930.

Occupation: Pharmacist.

~~X~~ MONJAR, ELSIE M.

Elsie Monjar, born in Sedgwick, Colo., on October 24, 1913, joined the Communist Party on October 17, 1937. She has been active in youth groups sponsored by the Communist Party. Miss Monjar was active in the United Office and Professional Workers of America, a union expelled by the CIO for being under the domination and control of the Communist Party. She was a delegate to the first Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957, in Los Angeles, Calif. She is a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party. She recently caused considerable dissension in the Communist Party when she informed on several comrades who were attending meetings of the Socialist Workers Party. The comrades on whom she informed were expelled from the Communist Party.

Occupation: Office manager.

~~X~~ MONROY, SOLOMON P.

Active in the Los Angeles area since 1952, Monroy's primary interest has been centered on attempts to align Mexican organizations with the program of the Communist Party. During the existence of the Independent Progressive Party in California, Monroy was treasurer of the Los Angeles County Independent Progressive Party and a member of its California State Executive Committee. He was a delegate to the convention of the Communist Party, Southern

12-31 25 / 6 007

District of California, April 13 and 14, 1957; and a member of the 62-member District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. He was born December 31, 1925, in Los Angeles. On February 25, 1959, Monroy invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions by the committee regarding his Communist Party activities.

Occupation: Self-employed.

~~MOSLEY~~, CHARLES H., JR., "CHUCK"

Mosley's Communist activity is centered in the Negro community in Los Angeles, Calif. He has been active in the political field, having been a member of the California State Central Committee, Independent Progressive Party in 1954. His participation in Communist organizations include the Labor Youth League, the American Russian Institute, and the Civil Rights Congress. The first convention of the newly formed Southern California District, Communist Party, was held April 13-14, 1957. Mosley was in attendance at the convention. He was born November 1, 1927, in Dallas, Tex.

Mosley appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Factory worker.

~~NEE~~ MUCHA, REVA (MRS. EUGENE ~~ZWOLINSKI~~)

Mrs. Zwolinski, born Reva Mucha in Kherson, Russia, on November 10, 1905, became a United States citizen by virtue of her father's (Peter Mucha) naturalization January 15, 1924, in New Jersey. Mrs. Zwolinski is admittedly the former executive director of the American Russian Institute, a Communist organization used to disseminate Russian propaganda and to entertain Russian visitors in the United States. The American Russian Institute also holds public forums and sponsors pro-Communist and Communist speakers who praise the Soviet Union. She resigned from the American Russian Institute in April of 1955 and since has been active in established Communist fronts and mass organizations. She is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California.

Mrs. Mucha appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Housewife.

~~MUKES~~, FAY (MRS. RICHARD ~~MUKES~~)

Mrs. Mukes, born Fay Kovner on April 10, 1924, in New York City, was a delegate to the Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, on January 5-6, 1957, and to the Southern California District convention of the Communist Party on April 13-14, 1957. On behalf of the Communist Party, she has been active in the Young Communist League, the Labor Youth League, and the Civil Rights Congress. Mrs. Mukes is a Communist functionary on the club and section level in the party structure.

She appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Legal secretary.

~~PACIFICO, OLA (MRS. LAURENCE M. PACIFICO)~~

Mrs. Pacifico, born Ola Ross on September 7, 1902, in Blaine County, Okla., is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. Mrs. Pacifico has been active in the Independent Progressive Party, Civil Rights Congress, Southern California Committee Against Renazification of Germany, and the Southern California Council To Abolish the Un-American Committee. In 1949 she was discharged from the Los Angeles City Health Department for refusing to sign the loyalty oath affidavit as required by law. She was a delegate to the California State convention, Communist Party, held January 19-20, 1957.

Mrs. Pacifico appeared as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Nurse.

~~PADILLA, FELIX~~

Padilla, a member of the Southern California District, Communist Party, Echo Park Section, has been active in the Southern California Peace Crusade, California Emergency Defense Committee, Independent Progressive Party's Westlake Club, United Labor Committee, May Day Committee, Trade Union Action Conference for Peace, Labor Advisory Committee of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Trade Union Defense Committee, and the National Association of Mexican-Americans. He was a member of the Marxist Institute of Los Angeles County, an organization sponsored by the Los Angeles County Section, Communist Party. A Communist Party organizer, Padilla was born May 18, 1907, in Puerto Rico.

Padilla appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Chemical worker.

~~PAPE, EDITH W. (MRS. LEON PAPE)~~

Mrs. Pape, born Edith Weiner on April 6, 1924, in New York City, was originally a member of the Communist Party in Brooklyn, N. Y. Her membership in the Communist Party was transferred to Los Angeles, Calif., from Brooklyn in early 1944 under the name Weiner. A schoolteacher by profession and former WAC, she was active in the formation of the Independent Progressive Party in 1948 and continued her activity in the Independent Progressive Party until it became inactive in 1954. She also focused her attention on Communist inspired youth movements and actively supported the Communist program opposing universal military training. Mrs. Pape was active in the Servicemen's Defense Committee. Her attendance was noted at the Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, and the Southern California District convention, Communist Party. Both conventions were held in early 1957.

Mrs. Pape appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the first amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Housewife; teacher.

~~X~~ PAPE, LEON

Holder of a master's degree in physics, Pape's major service for the Communist Party involves speaking at public forums in support of Soviet propaganda calling for the cessation of atomic bomb tests. Pape appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on September 4, 1958. He invoked the first amendment, the due process clause of the fifth amendment, and questioned the pertinency of questions and the mandate of the committee in refusing to answer questions concerning his membership and activity in the Communist Party. He was born February 8, 1925, in New York City.
Occupation: Medical physicist.

~~X~~ PARNESS, ESTELLE SHIRLEY (MRS. JACOB ~~X~~ PARNESS)

Mrs. Parness, born Estelle Shirley ~~X~~ Kurland, August 24, 1929, in Phoenix, Ariz., was indoctrinated in the Communist philosophy early in her youth. In 1949, while a student at the University of California at Los Angeles, Mrs. Parness was chairman of the UCLA chapter of the Labor Youth League, successor organization to the American Youth for Democracy and the Young Communist League. She was a member of the Organizing Committee of the Labor Youth League, Los Angeles County, and remained active in the Labor Youth League until its demise in late 1956. Shirley Parness was a delegate to both the Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party, on January 5-6, 1957, and the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957.

Mrs. Parness appeared as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Housewife.

~~X~~ PERRY, PETTIS

Perry, a member of the Communist Party since 1932, is undoubtedly the most experienced functionary in southern California. He is also one of the most loyal supporters of the Foster dictatorship on the national party level. He was convicted of conspiring to violate the Smith Act in January of 1953 and sentenced to 3 years in prison in February of 1953. He has served his sentence, having been released from prison on May 21, 1957. Shortly after his release he returned to California where he again became active in the Communist Party.

Perry at the present time is a member of the California State Coordinating Committee of the Communist Party and attends meetings of the executive board of the Southern California District Council regularly. Since 1934 he has been an open and avowed Communist. He has run for public office on the Communist Party ticket: Lieutenant Governor in 1934, and Secretary of State in 1942. Perry rose from a rank-and-file member in 1932 to a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A., and was national secretary to the Negro Commission, Communist Party, U. S. A. The Communist Party in Los Angeles, Calif., is currently formulating a program to "organize the unemployed." He is active in this program. He was born in Marion, Ala., on January 4, 1897.

Occupation: Professional Communist.

~~SARNOFF, IRVING~~

Sarnoff is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern California. He has been extremely active in Communist youth organizations, the American Youth for Democracy and the successor organization, the Labor Youth League. In 1956 he was labor director, Los Angeles County Labor Youth League; member of the executive committee, Labor Youth League; and in 1957 a delegate to the California State Labor Youth League convention. He was a delegate to three Communist Party conventions in 1957, the Los Angeles County convention, the California State convention and the Southern California District convention. Sarnoff was born on May 25, 1930, in New York City.

Sarnoff appeared as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Railroad car inspector.

~~SAZER, HENRY~~

Sazer was born in Russia in 1896, and came to the United States in August 1913. He was naturalized by decree of court in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1921. Few Communists have been more active in the Los Angeles area than Henry Sazer. In the midforties he was president of the AFL Hat and Capmakers local. He used his position to advance communism at every opportunity. For the years 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949 he was executive secretary of the American Jewish Labor Council, a Communist-front organization. The Needle Trades Committee for Peace was founded in 1951 with Henry Sazer as its executive secretary. In recent years his attention has been given to the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a Communist Party front. He was in attendance at the State convention, the Los Angeles County convention, and the Southern California District convention of the Communist Party, all held in Los Angeles during the first quarter of 1957. He is currently active in labor work in the Southern District of California, Communist Party, and an alternate member (observer) of the Southern California District Council Communist Party.

Sazer appeared as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Capmaker.

~~SILVER, SOPHIE~~

Mrs. Silver was born Schewe Czezelnitzki [Chelnick] on September 22, 1899, in Novay, Russia. She arrived in the United States on January 13, 1913, at the port of Philadelphia, Pa. She was naturalized in New York City on November 4, 1943. Mrs. Silver is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. She was a delegate to and attended the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention on January 5-6, 1957, the State convention of the Communist Party on January 19-20, 1957, and the Southern California District convention on April 13-14, 1957. In 1953, 1954, and 1955, she was a member of the Review Commis-

sion, Juarez Division Communist Party. The review commission is commonly referred to as the disciplinary commission, a commission composed of Communist Party members who review cases of Communists charged with activity considered to be detrimental to the Communist program. It is within the purview of the review commission to render disciplinary action or recommend expulsion from the Communist Party.

Mrs. Silver appeared as a witness before the committee on September 4, 1958, and invoked the first amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Needle trades worker.

~~SIMINOSKI, SOPHIE (MRS. ABE SIMINOSKI)~~

Born Sophie Smorodin in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1919; Mrs. Siminoski is presently a functionary in the Echo Park Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. She was a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on February 25, 1959, and relied on the fifth amendment to the Constitution in refusing to respond to questions propounded by the committee.

Occupation: Housewife; stenographer.

~~SMITH, ELEANOR (MRS. ERNEST CARL SMITH)~~

Born Ruth Kenesberg, December 24, 1931, in Los Angeles, Calif., she is on active assignment in youth work on behalf of the Communist Party, Southern District of California. Mrs. Smith was a witness before the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Los Angeles on February 24, 1959. In her appearance as a witness, she invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions propounded by the subcommittee.

Occupation: Housewife.

~~SPECTOR, ELIZABETH TEACH GLENN (MRS. FRANK SPECTOR)~~

Mrs. Spector, born Elizabeth Benson on September 21, 1913, in Waco, Tex., has been a full-time functionary of the Communist Party since 1943. She has been a member of the California State Committee, Communist Party; section executive committee member and organizer for the Northwest Section, Communist Party (Hollywood); instructor in the Los Angeles Labor School; a paid Communist Party functionary; a member of the Organization and Education Commission, Communist Party; a member of the Los Angeles County Committee, Communist Party; organizer of the Mike Quinn Section, Communist Party; administrative assistant, Communist Party of Los Angeles County; educational director of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County. She has also found time to serve on the executive board of the Civil Rights Congress and to be active in the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. She is utilized as a speaker by the Communist Party, and in her speeches she usually attacks present laws pertaining to internal security. Mrs. Spector was a delegate to the Los Angeles County convention, Communist Party on January 5-6, 1957, and to the Southern California District convention of the Communist Party on April 13-14, 1957.

Occupation: Office worker.

~~SPECTOR, FRANK~~

Spector presently manages the Progressive Book Shop, a point of dissemination of Communist literature in Los Angeles County.

A convicted Los Angeles Smith Act defendant, he was freed by a decision of the United States Supreme Court on June 17, 1957. In 1930 he was arrested under the California State criminal syndicalism law, convicted, but the conviction was reversed by the higher court. Born Frank Ephraim Spector in Odessa, Russia, on February 18, 1895, he arrived in the United States on August 13, 1913.

He became a resident of California in 1921. In 1929 a warrant of arrest was issued by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and Spector was subsequently ordered deported. He is currently under an order of deportation. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has been unable to secure travel documents for his entry into the Soviet Union; therefore, Spector is allowed to remain in the United States as a Communist alien.

Occupation: ~~Manager Progressive Book Shop.~~

~~STEINBERG, MAX~~

Born Max Steinberger August 15, 1890, in Valin, Russia, he arrived in the United States May 10, 1906, and became a citizen by naturalization in New York City on December 31, 1918. Formerly organizational secretary of the Communist Party in New York, Steinberg, a Communist whose dedication has never wavered from Soviet policy, is opposed to the leadership of Dorothy Healey because of her "softness" regarding Soviet intervention in Hungary and related issues. Steinberg is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California.

Occupation: Retired.

~~TALBOT, WILLIAM WALLACE~~

Talbot arrived in California in 1950 from Utah. Since that time he has been active in Communist-front organizations. During the year 1953 he was used by the Communist Party as a teacher in their various schools on the subject of Marxism. In 1953 his assignment was changed by the Communist Party to work in the trade unions. On January 19-20, 1957, he was a delegate to and attended the California State convention of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. He was also present at the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957, in Los Angeles. He was born in Panguitch, Utah, in 1908.

Talbot appeared as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958, and invoked the first amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Drill press operator.

~~TOLLY, MATHILDA BERRY (MRS. JOE TOLLY)~~

Mrs. Tolly was a delegate to the California State convention of the Communist Party on January 19-20, 1957, and to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, on April 13-14, 1957. Her activity with the Communist Party has been mainly with front

2. - a. 3. 10-22-1876

organizations, particularly the Echo Park chapter of the Civil Rights Congress, the Independent Progressive Party, and the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Her current activity for the Communist Party is centered in church work. She was born in Arizona on October 22, 1896. Her maiden name was Matilda Molina.

Mrs. Tolly appeared as a witness before the committee on February 25, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Housewife.

~~TOMKIN, SADIE (MRS. ABE TOMKIN)~~

Mrs. Tomkin was born Sadie Schindel Doroshkin on February 22, 1901, in Zhitavoich, Minsk, Russia. She was naturalized by decree of court on December 10, 1941, in New York City. She has been a member of the Communist Party for a long period of years. Her primary activity has been in Communist fronts. She was executive secretary for the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order. She has also been active in the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Her recent activity is directed toward raising funds for the Daily People's World, West Coast Communist publication. In 1957 she was a member of the Free Press Auxiliary, an organization to raise funds for the Daily People's World. She was a delegate at the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention on January 5-6, 1957, and to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, held April 13-14, 1957, in Los Angeles.

Occupation: Employed by the Daily People's World, Los Angeles office.

~~UTRECHT, HENRY STEVEN~~

Utrecht has been a member of the Communist Party since 1934. His activity in the Communist Party has been centered in the Long Beach-San Pedro area of Los Angeles County. He is a member of the ILWU and in addition to being active in labor, he has engaged in and supported the activities of the Independent Progressive Party, Long Beach Peace Council, Long Beach Antidiscrimination Committee, American Peace Crusade, and the Peoples Forum of Long Beach. He was born December 3, 1897, in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Occupation: Longshoreman.

~~UTRECHT, RUTH ROSE "CHICKIE" (MRS. HENRY STEVEN UTRECHT)~~

Mrs. Utrecht was born Ruth Rose Rybakoff, on October 1, 1912, in Brooklyn, N. Y. Over a period of years Mrs. Utrecht has been extremely active in the Long Beach area. She has held various Communist Party functionary positions in the Harbor Section and at one time was Communist Party organizer in the Harbor Section. Mrs. Utrecht is a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party. On April 13-14, 1957, she participated as a delegate at the Southern California District convention, Communist Party, in Los Angeles, Calif.

Occupation: Housewife.

~~VALLENS, VIVIAN (MRS. LEON VALLENS)~~

Mrs. Vallens, born Vivian Meyerowitz on February 5, 1930, in New York City, is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. A resident of California since 1944, she enrolled at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1947 and immediately became active in leftwing student organizations such as American Youth for Democracy, Youth for Wallace, and Students Organizing Committee of the Independent Progressive Party. Her activity in Communist-sponsored youth activity predates her college days. While a student in high school she was president of the Patriots Club, American Youth for Democracy. Since reaching maturity, Mrs. Vallens has continued active support of the Communist Party and controlled Communist fronts. Her activities have been centered in youth organizations.

Mrs. Vallens appeared as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Housewife.

~~VARELA, DELFINO~~

An active member of the Zapata Section of the Communist Party, Varela's work for the Communist Party is centered among Americans of Mexican extraction in Los Angeles. He is also active in the political field, holding several positions within the framework of a major political party. Born in Pecos, N. Mex., on November 14, 1926, Varela became a resident of Los Angeles in 1955. Varela invoked the fifth amendment on February 25, 1959, when he appeared as a witness before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Los Angeles.

Occupation: Social worker.

~~WHITLEY, FRANK J.~~

Whitley was a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on December 6, 1956, in Los Angeles, Calif. He invoked the fifth amendment on questions concerning his Communist Party membership and related issues. He has held various positions on club and county levels in the Communist Party, Los Angeles County. The Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the Negro Labor Council have utilized his talents as a speaker and racial agitator. On January 19-20, 1957, he was a delegate to the California State convention, Communist Party, and on April 13-14, 1957, a delegate to the Southern California District convention, Communist Party. He is a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party, and a member of the District Minorities Commission, Communist Party.

Occupation: Real-estate broker.

~~WILLETT, GEORGE LAURENCE~~

Willett's activity in the Communist Party has been in the Harbor Section (San Pedro) where he was the organizer. He formerly operated the Maritime Book Store, the now defunct outlet for Communist propaganda in the harbor area. A sponsor of the California Emer-

B. 1-24-15 in 111-2-

The Harbor

gency Defense Committee, he worked diligently for the committee in raising funds for the Communists arrested for violation of the Smith Act in California. He has been active in the affairs of the Negro Labor Council. The Southern California District convention, Communist Party, was held in Los Angeles on April 13-14, 1957. Willett was a delegate to the convention. In 1942 he was a registered Communist Party voter, Los Angeles County. He is a member of the Southern California District Council, Communist Party, and a member of the Echo Park Section, Communist Party. He was born September 24, 1915, in Massachusetts.

Occupation: Machinist.

~~YOUNG, ADELE~~

Mrs. Young, born Adele Rose de Lavallade in Marksville, La., on July 14, 1898, joined the Communist Party in 1934 and has been active in Los Angeles since that date. Some of the positions she has held in the Communist Party are: Member of the California State Central Committee of the Communist Party, membership director of the 62d Assembly District, member of the California State Committee, member of the Los Angeles County Committee, and member of the County Negro Commission. Mrs. Young is currently manager of the Hugh Gordon Book Store, dissemination point for Communist propaganda in southeast Los Angeles, Calif.

Occupation: Manager, Hugh Gordon Book Store.

~~YOUNG, CLARENCE GEORGE~~

Young arrived in Los Angeles from New Orleans in 1947 and immediately became active in the Independent Progressive Party. In June 1949, he was in attendance at the organizing conference of the Los Angeles County Labor Youth League and was elected to the Organizing Committee. He has done considerable work for the Pacific Coast Youth Recorder (defunct official organ of the Labor Youth League), drawing cartoons under the alias "Clay." Young has been active in the Young Progressives of America, the Civil Rights Congress, and the American Youth Peace Crusade. He is a member of the District Council, Communist Party, Southern District of California. He was born March 30, 1926, in New Orleans, La.

Young appeared as a witness before the committee on February 24, 1959, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

Occupation: Cartoonist; steelworker.

APPENDIX

Documents appearing in this appendix were distributed to Communist Party delegates attending the southern California district convention, April 13-14, 1957, at Los Angeles, Calif.

- Exhibit I. Report to southern California district convention on the role and program of the Communist Party, by Dorothy Ray Healey.
- Exhibit II. Trade-union resolution.
- Exhibit III. Resolution on Negro-labor alliance.
- Exhibit IV. Resolution on Mexican work.
- Exhibit V. The Jewish people in the United States.
- Exhibit VI. Resolution on the People's World.
- Exhibit VII. Letter to convention delegates from the People's World.
- Exhibit VIII. Draft of bylaws, Southern California District, Communist Party.
- Exhibit IX. Rules of the convention.
- Exhibit X. Report of the Constitution and Organization Committee to the convention.
- Exhibit XI. Resolution offered by the Constitution and Organizational Committee.
- Exhibit XII. Comments on the status of the party, by Dorothy Ray Healey.
- Exhibit XIII. Resolution on Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question in the United States.
- Exhibit XIV. New Features of the Negro Question in the United States by James E. Jackson (September 20, 1958).
- Exhibit XV. Report of Eugene Dennis to the National Committee, CPUSA (June 28, 1958).
- Exhibit XVI. Report to National Committee on Work and Consolidation of the Party by Bob Thompson (June 28, 1958).

EXHIBIT I

REPORT TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA-DISTRICT CONVENTION

(By Dorothy Ray [sic] Healey)

This is the first southern California district convention, and Los Angeles extends its greetings to our sister county organizations who join with us in composing our new district. The relationship is too new for us to have become familiar with the character of either the mass movements or the party, but the election of a district committee that includes these counties will bring this knowledge.

ROLE AND PROGRAM

This convention has the task of developing the initial steps to be taken in applying the main-line of the national convention to our district. In doing this, we believe that we will also start concentrating our discussions around the role of our party. Many comrades, concerned with the events of the last year, ask, "What is our role today? Why do we need a Communist Party when there are mass organizations whose programs advance important issues?" We believe the definition provided by Marx and Engels over 100 years ago retains its basic validity:

"The Communists have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement. The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the

working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interest of the movement as a whole * * * the Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. * * *

We believe that socialism provides the only basic solution to the problems of Americans, but the majority of our fellow Americans do not recognize socialism as the answer. Our task is the development of struggle on those immediate issues around which workers today will unite. Socialist understanding will be acquired in the first place by participation in struggle, not by passing grades in school. While the propaganda for socialism is important, nowhere in the world did workers acquire revolutionary consciousness except by their participation in class and national struggles, based on immediate demands. While American workers are not yet class conscious, they share the tradition of hatred of monopolies. A worker in General Motors may not be consciously anticapitalist, but he knows and hates General Motors.

ANTIMONOPOLY COALITION

Our party's program for an antimonopoly coalition is a program to consolidate an alliance of all the forces of the people against the monopolies—which labor and its allies, in one way or another, recognize as their main enemy. In developing this struggle, the forces of the people will, by increasing their political and organizational ties among themselves, find a path to united political expression.

We describe the antimonopoly coalition as our strategic aim on the road to socialism because socialism can seldom be reached in one stride, without an intermediate stage. This stage can gain a transforming advance on the basis of the issues of the present period, and weaken the political powers of the ruling monopolies. An anti-monopoly coalition can bring about a major change in the relationship of forces in this country, in which labor would play a decisive role, and could thereby tremendously advance the road to socialism.

The very nature of monopoly capitalism, which represents the most powerful (and the most reactionary) sections of capitalism, directly menaces the well-being and security of most Americans. We Communists did not invent the term "Cadillac Cabinet"; it came from the labor movement, and it articulated their recognition of the fusion of monopoly with the Government.

The Los Angeles Times on April 6 devoted its main editorial to the question of monopoly control, with good reason, inasmuch as the Chandler family represents a major expression of monopoly in the Southland. The Times says, "big business, though big and getting bigger, is not yet big enough to serve the needs of the country," and cites as its authority the chairman of the board of United States Steel, Roger Blough.

The strength of the antimonopoly tradition is such that the Los Angeles Times must say, "The American people, from the beginning, have been unfalteringly opposed to monopoly. Sometimes the weapons with which we have endeavored to fight have proven ineffective." But don't you worry. The Times and United States Steel have a program to fight monopoly. They say, "The public, through their patronage as consumers, investors, and workers, created these big-business organizations, and, by withholding patronage, investment, and labor, could regulate or even destroy their creation in a very short time." So, you don't like monopolies? You show 'em who's boss—don't work for United States Steel. Don't buy their steel. Don't buy their stock. Well, we Communists think there is a better way to curb the monopolies. We suggest that a party, led by labor, supported by all whom monopoly threatens, can have a program designed to make these huge industrial plants and utilities truly serve the needs of the people instead of the millionaire stockholders who control them. That program would include tremendously increased excess-profit taxes, legislation that would truly prevent price fixing, legislation that would prevent their legal and extra-legal control of the Government. Obviously, such legislation could come into being only as a result of tremendous struggles, and could be enforced only through the organization and strength of the people's alliance.

LABOR

The growth of monopoly capital has transformed the economy of southern California, with southern California no longer an area of small, secondary industries. Oil, auto, aircraft, and rubber are among the industries representing national monopolies dominating the economy of our area. In addition, the con-

struction industry provides over 100,000 jobs in direct construction work, plus thousands more in the manufacture and distribution of building materials. The number of factory production workers in this area is now more than 3 1/2 times that of 1939.

What does this represent to us, in terms of our party program? In the first place, it means highlighting and emphasizing labor's program of "organize the unorganized." The AFL-CIO represents only 37 percent of the working force in this county. It is obvious that organized labor, increased in strength, would play a transformed role in the life of this area. This is a program in which all Communists can participate, similar to the 1930's—whether they are working in community organizations, fraternal organizations, or churches. The working-class communities are distributed throughout the county and, therefore, we need a concentration policy that provides for Communists in each area or organization devoting their attention to reaching the workers living in those areas, meeting in community organizations, and in bringing labor's role and program before the community. The current strike at Chrysler of 4,000 workers over the issue of speedup is an example of one of the contradictions present today in the labor movement. While more workers are members of unions than ever before, attendance and participation in union activities is pretty low. Nevertheless, given an opportunity to react on issues which workers feel directly, apathy disappears and one witnesses the full expression of militancy and determination to fight against the boss. Chrysler Corp. demonstrates the determination of employers to extract maximum profits from the sweat of the workers. They report their highest profits for the first 3 months of 1957, gained from the intense speedup of the worker, which enables the corporation to extend its efforts to increase their share of the market. The role of our party would be represented in Marxists stressing in every organization the meaning and utilization of the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all" with resolutions passed in meetings in support of the strikers, collecting funds, etc.

Our national committee projects a twofold program to answer the current attacks upon the labor movement. First, to alert all people's organizations that the McClellan committee investigation is designed as a prelude to launching a full-scale attack upon the political and economic rights of the unions, and to point out what an attack on labor means to other sectors of the community. Secondly, the need within labor to continue to fight to democratize the unions, to provide for rank-and-file control of policy and finances.

As we help to win support for labor's program and struggles, knowledge develops of the decisive role of the working class, and additional allies are won among the non-working-class population.

NEGRO COMMUNITY

The Negro, Mexican, and Jewish communities have grown enormously in the last decade, and have increased their potential as important allies of the labor movement. The Negro community has grown from 40,000 in 1940, to approximately 400,000 in Los Angeles County alone. This has been reflected in factories, communities, and mass organizations. In aircraft, for example, it is estimated by Jet magazine that almost a third of the working force is Negro. Numerous churches have reflected this change by formal announcement of their new inter-racial character. Congressional districts, which in 1950 had only a token Negro community, today have thousands upon thousands of Negro residents. The impact of this migration into Los Angeles has materially altered the character of both Negro and white organizations. Negro and white people live alongside of one another, belong to the same unions, and work together in PTA's. But there is no ground for complacency on this score, in view of the large tracts which still discriminate against minority peoples.

In organizations which are predominantly Negro, new leadership has entered the field to challenge, and in many cases, to replace the old leadership. The NAACP has an influence far beyond its numbers both within the Negro and white communities, as well as within the labor movement.

We would agree with the State convention in singling out FEP as a major concentration for activity. This very weekend, a statewide mobilization for FEP is taking place in Sacramento. The FEP bill has passed the assembly ways and means committee and the committee on government efficiency and economy. Without repeating the proposals adopted by the State convention on the program for our party on this issue, all progressives should make this their No. 1 activity in the next few months.

As part of our program, Communists in industry should continue emphasis upon concrete instances of discrimination in hiring and upgrading. One of the more dramatic examples of the role of white Communists was provided in an important industry where all the white workers in a department were persuaded not to bid for a job that was open, thereby forcing the company to upgrade the Negro worker who was the only applicant for it.

In addition to the concentration upon an FEP, we would stress the resolution passed by our national convention that the No. 1 task before the whole country is the democratizing of the South. The proposal of Allen Cranston, State president of the California Democratic Clubs, for a Federal Election Commission which would provide for Federal supervision of elections in States that have prevented equality for all citizens in voting, is a step in that direction.

Communists in the labor movement should make as a key point, that the immediate and future interests of organized labor can be determined by winning the fight for Negro rights and the democratization of the South; that the millions of Negro voters in the South could defeat the Dixiecrats, who legislate not only for the South, but for the whole country. This program, too, is directly related to the building of an antimonopoly coalition, in the consolidating of the Negro-labor alliance.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

In the last decade, as the United States-born generation has matured, Mexican-Americans have strengthened their organizational ties with existing community organizations and at the same time have added to the number and quality of Mexican-American organizations. As the draft report on Mexican-Americans in the United States states, "The freedom to acknowledge both backgrounds (Mexican and United States) with equal pride, is the right of expression and the right to equality * * *"

In most industries there has been an important increase of Mexican-American workers. It is estimated, for example, that one-third of the longshoremen are Mexican-Americans and 50 percent of the apprentices in the typographical union are Mexican-Americans. Steel, building trades, packing and mine-mill are but a few of the unions which have Mexican-American officials.

In 1945 there was little evidence of a Mexican-American middle class. Today, a growing number of businessmen and professionals are reflected in a relatively new organization, the Council of Mexican-American Affairs, which sets as its dominant perspective, the providing of a trained Mexican-American leadership. CSO continues its activity in legislative, immigration and citizenship, intercultural and racial activities, etc. In the 19th Congressional District, the increased participation of Mexican-Americans in politics is evidenced by the numbers elected in Democratic organizations, including the county central committee, district bodies, and clubs.

An important demand, joined in by all Mexican-American organizations, centers around the need for increased educational opportunities for youth. Two factors are primarily responsible for the shockingly low figures of Mexican-American youth in higher education. One, the low average income of Mexican-American families in California, which is 25 percent lower than their Anglo neighbors; and two, the deliberate policy of the school administration in discouraging emphasis on academic courses in schools in predominantly Mexican-American neighborhoods. The program to meet this need—scholarships and changed school curriculums, should be given wide support.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish community has witnessed great numbers of new centers and organizations being built in every community. While many of the new centers are related to synagogues, their main strength comes from the desire for mutual relations among their members. Accompanying this organizational growth has been an increased political participation. While most of the organizations are nonpartisan, by adjourning their formal meetings and then informally discussing issues and candidates, they have been important contributors in the political campaigns. Figures published in 1950 showed over 20 percent of the Los Angeles Jewish community as workers in industry, and 31 percent in white collar jobs.

The Jewish Community Council, based on affiliation of most Jewish organizations meets quarterly. Through these large conferences, the Jewish community coordinates and mobilizes around important National, State, and local political issues.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

The County Conference on Human Relations demonstrates the interlocking character of the main labor, Negro, Mexican, Jewish, Asian, church, and liberal forces in this area. Progressives could play a needed role by participating in developing grassroots expressions of this movement, thereby uniting the rank and file, as well as the leaders.

Note should be made of the coordinating councils which function in most communities. Based on a membership which includes representation from organizations and individuals, their program emphasizes the health, welfare, and recreational needs of each area.

Los Angeles is one of the main cultural centers of the country. The dominant culture stifles and pollutes the mass media which influence the minds of all Americans. But it would be wrong not to recognize the breakthroughs that have been made, in motion pictures, in literature, on the stage, etc., which indicates what can be done. Without going back to the controversies of the past over our estimates of *Home of the Brave*, *Lydia Bailey*, and other motion pictures, a movie like *Giant*, which attacks anti-Mexican chauvinism, is to be welcomed. A play like *The Diary of Anna Frank* must be applauded. A book like *The Quiet American* should be greeted. We must overcome the longstanding tendencies toward anti-intellectualism which have been present in our party. We can most effectively participate in the battle of ideas when we utilize the talents and devotion to the cause of the working class, which is present among our cultural workers.

YOUTH

We are not in a position to project a definitive program of work among youth. We know that the future of our party lies in our ability to win youth to the cause of socialism. But while we cannot yet answer the question of what type of Marxist youth organization should emerge, we can state that high on the priority list on our party's program, should be the planned and conscious approach toward the young people in the mass organizations and unions in which we participate. This means developing teen-age programs in those organizations, designed to answer the needs and interests of young people. It means concentrating our own attention toward young workers in these activities. A youth program must include an approach toward college youth, designed to give expression for participation in the democratic movements of the day, as well as their responsibilities on the campus and in their chosen academic fields. They must know our feeling of pride, that a new generation of intellectuals is developing, which can help deepen the science of Marxism-Leninism by their application of dialectical materialism to each branch of knowledge.

RUTH

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

EDITH

The recent primary elections for board of education showed the growth of the organized relationships among labor, minority, and liberal forces. While non-partisan in character, the alliance which successfully defeated the arch reactionary Mrs. Cole, and has a candidate in the runoff against the Tory Mrs. Stafford, was based on the relationships that are grouped within and around the Democratic Party. The issue here was clear cut: The need to defeat extreme reaction. The method for accomplishing this was equally clear—maximum unity. The fact that the voter turnout was high, as compared to previous municipal primaries, was proof of the intense feeling that exists on school issues.

Our participation in this campaign was spotty. Some sat around crying in their beer about wasting opportunities; some comrades bewailed that they didn't know on what issues to be active; a few others plaintively resisted activity on the ground that you didn't have to be a Communist to be active in the elections. But scores of comrades recognized that our job is not to invent issues but to participate in the existing movements which put people into motion, which teach them the meaning of organized activity, and which gives them confidence in acquiring strength to tackle bigger issues.

What would distinguish the role of Communists from other participants in this campaign? 1. The utilization of every opportunity to deepen the issues of the campaign. For example, the speech and literature of the Committee For Better Schools, and the candidates, were notably lacking in hard-hitting attacks on the issues of the discrimination against Negro and Mexican teachers, and on the need to rezone many schools, to prevent the segregation that exists as a result of the

still existing ghettos. By being a part of the movement, we would not be criticizing from the outside, but helping to influence the thinking on such questions, thereby developing the necessary pressure which could result in the inclusion of these issues. 2. The traditional approach in American political life is to gather together for a specific issue, and then disband. Progressives participating in this movement would emphasize the need to develop continuing organization in the precincts, and the assembly and congressional districts; aware that through such organized activity, people learn the full significance of the slogan, "In unity there is strength," and become increasingly alert to the direction in which that unity should lead.

The municipal campaign further demonstrated that our policy must always be two-pronged. First, to have a mass line that provides for the fullest participation in the broadest campaigns, and second, a policy to influence the more advanced workers through the independent expression of the party's electoral position. There is debate over whether sufficient number of people would have felt able to circulate nominating petitions for a Communist candidate at this time. If it is possible, there is full agreement on the need to enter party candidates for some offices, although not by posing such a candidate against maximum activity in the election campaigns where important coalitions have developed.

How can our independent role be expressed in additional ways than through candidates? We should utilize every opportunity for party spokesmen to appear before other groups. We should state our views on important questions, with the aim to influence and move the more militant and advanced among the rank and file. Of great importance in this regard is the utilization of the People's World. It is obvious that where one Communist can speak to only a few people, the People's World can reach hundreds and thousands. A successful conclusion of the circulation campaign could do more than 10 resolutions passed here at this convention, in providing a channel for Marxist thinking to reach the people.

On May 28, the election contest between Mrs. Stafford, arch-conservative incumbent, and Mrs. Angelf, takes place. The Los Angeles Times has already issued its call for maximum efforts to retain Mrs. Stafford. A people's crusade to defeat her, is on the order of the day.

MARY

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The recent convention of the California Democratic clubs, held in Long Beach, had over 1,200 delegates—an amazing turnout for an off-election year. The speech of President Allen Cranston deserves wide circulation and could well serve as an instrument to prod labor and other people's organizations further in political participation. Carrying through into resolution form the content of his speech was the following on equal rights: " * * * We condemn, impartially, all political leaders, of whatever party, who have impeded and will impede the enactment of legislation in support of equal rights * * * . It is timely here and now to work for a California delegation at the next National Democratic Convention that is pledged unequivocally to this program. These delegates must proceed undeterred by threats of withdrawal from certain sectional leaders. We feel that a new National Democratic Party must develop that has no room for elected public officials who will not reconcile themselves to equal rights. We specifically call for the denial of Democratic Party seniority rights to any United States Senator or Congressman who opposes the National Democratic Party platform on civil rights. The validity of our party as a national political party is at stake in an uncompromising platform established once and for all * * * . Or Resolution 5, calling for a moratorium on nuclear explosions, or Resolution 11 on labor, which included opposition to any "right to work" law, and after listing support of labor legislation, concluded by saying: "We deplore corruption and abuse of power in high office, whether in government, business, or unions. We regret that current investigations to uncover such corruption is being used to stereotype the labor movement which in totality, has made such great contributions to the improvement of the lives and ethical standards of American life * * * ."

It would seem to me that an awareness of these kind of resolutions and an alertness to their utilization in unions, community organizations, etc. would be most helpful.

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

The political expression of an antimonopoly coalition can be realized through the establishment of a party led by labor in alliance with the broadest sections of the American people. Our national convention refused to blueprint the precise

way in which such a party will finally emerge. We cannot speak for other States, but it seems to us that here in California, to exclude the possibility of such a party emerging through the struggles within the Democratic Party, would be nonsense.

We are asked, "But doesn't our policy breed illusions in a capitalist influenced and nationally controlled party?" If we were to follow this logic of how not to create illusions, we would have to stop support for any social legislation, for the fight to extend civil liberties and civil rights, etc. As a matter of fact, the position of many sectarian would-be Marxists in the past was to oppose any support to such movements, precisely on the grounds that even struggling to win such victories creates the illusion that capitalism can be reformed. A reading of Socialist Labor Party literature even today, with their insistence that Socialists, to be true to their ideals, should support only Socialist industrial unions, reduces to a proper absurdity, this approach. The Socialist Labor Party states that unions create illusions by attempting to fight for the workers' interests within the framework of capitalism, and that it is therefore inevitable that they fall under the control of business-minded leaders. It is true that without a class-conscious leadership and/or a rank and file controlled union, many sections of the labor movement are controlled by officers who regard their union responsibilities in a manner similar to a corporation executive, but Marxists know that their responsibility to their fellow workers in the union cannot be fulfilled by urging workers not to join a union which allows a Dave Beck to control it. Our task can be fulfilled only if one is in the union, pointing out the fight is not only against a Dave Beck as such, but against the class-collaborationist ideology which permits the Becks to flourish like the green bay tree.

A further expression of the way to develop and consolidate the antimonopoly alliance, is through our participation in activating the program of the people's organizations to which we belong. The civil liberties committee of the Golden West Lodge of the Elks includes in its civil-rights program the following: To initiate discussions with the California State Committee on Text Books, with the object of eliminating many of the prejudiced references to minorities and Negro history; the holding of a mass conference or workshop, inviting other organizations to participate, whereby problems in the community can be discussed, correlated, and joint action proposed. The Church Federation of Southern California includes in its program of action the need to encourage their white members to rent and sell property to minority peoples.

During the last few years, a myth developed that our leading role was displayed only if we came up with program and issues initiated by ourselves. Such an idea has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, and is the invention of ultra-leftists, who see themselves as gods, bringing salvation to the benighted lowly. We don't have to invent issues. We know however, that few leaders base their program on full mobilization of their members, and therefore many resolutions and programs remain on paper. But if the party, either collectively through a club's discussion, or through the initiative of individual Communists, actively work to mobilize members in putting their own organizations' program into life, we thereby help to increase their political consciousness. It should be a secondary and relatively unimportant question to us as to the motives of the leaders of organizations that proclaim good programs. We learn from the masses by joining with them on the denominator of common issues. We teach the masses by showing the lessons to be learned from these specific struggles.

No one individual, regardless of ability, can draw the full conclusions and lessons from the activity within the peoples' organizations and among the masses generally, which summarizes the lessons and projects the next stage of struggle. No individual, working alone, can fully express the interests of the class as a whole, and not just the interests of that particular section of the peoples' movement with which he is identified. A Communist Party provides for the exchange of experiences, from the testing of those experiences, and from the totality tries to draw the conclusions which leads to further program. We represent the future in the struggles of the day, by the following contributions:

1. By summing up the meaning of the daily struggles in order to project the next objective.
 2. By relating the separate struggles of sections of the peoples' movement to the overall needs of the working class and its allies.
 3. By working in a manner that allows us to utilize our press and our literature among more advanced workers, to recruit for our party, thereby strengthening the number of those consciously working for a Socialist society.
- So we start by trying to unite the members on issues already projected by their own organizations, and continue by finding the way to unite that organiza-

tion and its members, with others. If in southern California, in preparation for the 1958 elections, we were to set the goal for each club of seeking out ways to participate in organizing pre-election united centers of all organizations which could participate in the selection of candidates and the development of issues, we would be taking an important step in the formation of political groupings that can express the interests of the antimonopoly alliance.

This perspective by no means excludes the need for either certain left centers, or for independent committees. The Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born is an example of the left of center organization which fulfills an important need. In the last 5 years the committee has provided an important channel for mobilizing both a defensive fight on behalf of the deportees, and has taken the offensive against the infamous Walter-McCarran Act. The Wesley Welles Campaign Committee, which initiated the broadest civil-rights movement in our history, is another example of a specific need expressed through an independent committee. The work of some Communists in one of our divisions, who developed an important women's movement, is an additional example. Starting on the basis of a fight against a community-eyesore, dozens of women were organized; in the course of this struggle they increased their role in additional political activities.

The concept of the antimonopoly coalition is not brand new. We have been working in that direction for many years. Our mutual experiences leading toward this program were expressed in the 1952 draft resolution, and in the 1954 party program. The national convention sharpened and highlighted this perspective, and dealt most sharply with questions of tactics and approaches which were limiting our effectiveness, thereby focusing more clearly the significance of this long-range aim.

INTERNATIONALISM

Working class parties must survive to fulfill the expression of internationalism, and in discussing the role of our Party our viewpoint on international questions is important. You have before you a resolution on the Arab-Israeli question, which tries to express our viewpoint of proper internationalism. Briefly, we focus our attention on that which is primary, the long-range significance of the antiimperialist liberation struggles of the Arab peoples without contradicting our concern for the rights of Israel. We recognize that on this question, as on others, a tactical expression of our line will differ in the various communities, but we believe that our starting point must be a common one.

Time does not permit dealing with all of the new problems that have developed as a result of socialism being built in a number of States. I will therefore comment on the one which is the most tragic and I think, the most confusing—Hungary.

From the start, a majority of our county committee felt that the terrible errors and perversions of Socialist approaches on the part of the Hungarian Communists and the Soviet Union, were responsible for the disintegration of the Hungarian party and the demoralization of the working class, thereby providing the basis for the uprisings. Nevertheless, we think that the action of the Soviet Army on November 4 was a tragic necessity, a necessary action on behalf of the interests of the adjoining Socialist countries, and a necessary action on behalf of the basic interests of the Hungarian workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals.

I said we started from the premise that the Hungarian and Soviet comrades were responsible in the first place, for the uprisings. Let me quote from the broadcast of Kadar on November 1, when he said that the party leadership of Rakosi et al. had "degenerated to a medium of despotism and national slavery." What more can be said of the source of the tragedy than these devastating words of the present leader of the Hungarian party and Government.

However, we Americans must examine the role and deeds of our own imperialist Government. We who live in the land of Allen Dulles and project X, have our own first task. The Dulles brothers utilized to the hilt the legitimate grievances of the Hungarian peoples. We know that it was American dollars that assisted the Horthy, Mindzenty forces in corrupting the demands of the honest Socialist workers, intellectuals, and students who were fighting. We believe that without the Soviet army the Hungarian people would have had no more opportunity to exercise the rights of self-determination, than the peoples of Spain or Hitler Germany or the people of Guatemala. The declaration of Nagy, abandoning the Warsaw Treaty, and his appeal to the United Nations on November 1, which "declares Hungary's neutrality and requests the help of the four great powers in defending this neutrality," indicates in what direction the Nagy government was being pressured by reaction. What would such "help" consist of? Obviously,

troops from the United States, England, and France—does it take much imagination to estimate the possibility of world war from such "help"?

If there were Marxists who could not understand what would happen from such "neutrality"—the boss class had no such difficulty. The New York Herald Tribune promptly editorialized: "If Nagy's pledges are fulfilled, it would mean the end of a Communist-controlled Hungary, and the creation of a potentially hostile stronghold in the heart of Soviet Eastern Europe." The Dulles brothers had a very clear picture of what such a "neutrality" and "self-determination" could actually amount to.

We think there were Marxists who were confused by the fact that phrases like "revolutionary workers councils" were used, and who believed that such titles necessarily defined the content of the leadership of those bodies. History sometimes has a peculiar way of repeating itself. In 1921 the Kronstadt sailors revolted against the young Soviet Government. From the New York Times to the leaders of the Second International, there was prompt support for the revolt, with the Second International agreeing on the slogan, "Soviets without the Bolsheviks." I am sure there were Marxists then who shuddered when the revolt was suppressed, and who said, "See, they only wanted Soviets, not the return of capitalism." Lenin pointed out what is behind such a slogan: "The capitalists say, 'Only get it shaking, rocking a little, and the whole thing will start rolling' * * *" and he warned that the immediate fate of the revolution would be determined by its ability to defeat the revolt. "If we do not," said Lenin, "We shall roll back as the French Revolution did."

However, we do not feel that we have said the last word on this question, nor even that our opinion is necessarily the only correct opinion to hold. We do not feel that comrades who do not share our position are thereby automatically anti-Soviet. We do feel that American Communists should participate in the continuing debate in the world Communist movement, enlarging our areas of knowledge extracting the necessary lessons from what took place.

We do not consider that we can learn such lessons by trying to place a position on Hungary in a resolution, with comrades voting aye or nay. Nothing substantial would be accomplished if 75 Communists voted one way and 74, another. Or even if 150 voted one way and only 10, the opposite. It might be more routine and comfortable to take such a vote and then say, "See, this is the party's position," but such an action is no substitute for the need to continue to extend our knowledge. On the Israeli-Arab question, the facts, although most complex, are clear. That is not the situation in regard to Hungary.

What we can all agree on, I am sure, and make part of our program of work for our southern California party, is our participation in the campaign to withdraw all troops, Soviet and American, from Europe, and to send all troops stationed throughout the world, back to their own homes. We can agree and vote on our determination to work actively to end nuclear explosions on the part of both the United States and the Soviet Union. We can agree and vote on our program to participate in the life-deciding movement for peaceful coexistence, allowing the only warfare to take place between competing ideologies in the proper arena—in the hearts and minds of mankind.

The Eisenhower-Macmillan conference in Berlin demonstrated the great need for emphasis on the struggle for peaceful coexistence. While only a portion of their agreements have been made public, a new example of secret treaties, secretly arrived at, the published portions show the danger of increased international tensions. It further proves that peaceful coexistence will not come spontaneously, but requires the participation and intervention of the peoples who are determined to thwart the warmakers.

We cannot take the time to deal with other important debates taking place. The differences between some of the French and Italian comrades in their analyses of the law of relative and absolute impoverishment (portions of which will be in next month's Political Affairs) is of considerable significance to us. The continuing debate resulting from the Khrushchev disclosures and similar questions as to the source of the errors in the Soviet Union, is one in which we should participate. This will find expression in a discussion that will revolve around the development of our full theoretical position on the road to socialism in the United States, as expressed in the new party program, which the national convention called for.

CONCLUSION

We have presented only the general outline of a program. If we mean what we say, that policy must be developed with maximum participation; then this skeleton will get flesh and fill out as each club adds its own thinking and plans.

Initiative and creativity will develop by grappling with the specific and concrete problems in each community and field of work.

We have not attempted an estimate of our past work. From all sides, comrades said they were tired of the discussion of past errors. That what is wanted is to get on to the present and the future. An additional factor that would have limited a proper analysis, was the shifting responsibility in our leadership, since our convention in 1951, between those comrades who were available and those who were away.

The fact that the party has tried in the past year to be sharply critical of its work, should not blind us to the contributions which we made. There is no Communist, whether active today or not, who could not admit that Communists have always desired to struggle in the interests of the working class. Yes; we made errors, serious ones, that prevented the hard and self-sacrificing energies of Communists from being sufficient effective. Wasted years? Nonsense. They have been full and vital years. Today, we must be determined that the lessons of this past year, full of shock and pain, will be translated into an increasing ability to root our party in the American scene, by overcoming the long-standing disease of infantile leftism.

We know there are no readymade answers, no blueprints to chart the way to infallibility in line and policy. We know that we can test the correctness of our present policy only in the course of struggle. But with patience, respect for one another's opinion and the opinion of our brothers, with study and practice, we American Communists can participate with pride in this new era, the century of mankind, making his own history in the march on the road to socialism.

EXHIBIT II

TRADE UNION RESOLUTION--SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT CONVENTION

This resolution is in two parts. The first part deals with the national draft trade union resolution. This resolution refers to the national draft trade union resolution and proposes an approach to it. We urge wide debate and discussion on the national draft itself which was not acted on by the national convention but referred to the national committee and a future Communist Party trade union conference. The second part deals with local problems primarily.

TRADE UNION SUBCOMMITTEE,
Resolutions Committee.

TRADE UNION RESOLUTION: PART I

As an organization dedicated to socialism and striving to increase Socialist consciousness among the workers, the Communist Party must work consistently in support of the trade union movement. The trade union movement is the organization of class struggle built by the workers to improve their conditions and through which greater class and social progress can be made.

I.

We agree with the national draft trade union resolution as an application of the major policies adopted by our national convention. While not every question is handled, we believe it is a real advance in placing the major problems of trade union policy before our party. In expressing our agreement with the national draft resolution we emphasize some of its major propositions.

1. It seeks to arrive at an objective evaluation of the trade union movement. The trade union movement has grown and its unification has placed it in a better position to more decisively affect the life of our country. Labor is expressing itself on many of the major issues before the nation, and is seeking to ally itself with other major democratic forces. Labor can be the rallying center in the developing antimonopoly coalition and political realignment.

2. The resolution sees a contradiction between labor's growth and strength on the one hand and the bureaucracy, business unionism and class collaborationist approach of much of the trade union officialdom, on the other hand. This often acts to retard key daily struggles in the shops and to discourage initiative from below. The resolution points out that this contradiction can be ended by the continuing fight of the workers for better conditions, for greater internal union democracy and participation in the affairs of their unions.

3. It points that labor's further progress can be advanced by determined struggle around a general program that includes:

- (a) Further development of trade union unity.
- (b) Organization of the unorganized.
- (c) The shorter work week.
- (d) Extension of the alliances between labor and its allies, in which the struggle for civil rights is a key issue.
- (e) For world peace and a peacetime economy.
- (f) Greater independent political activity.
- (g) Trade union democracy.

It places before the party the task of helping to achieve the successful outcome of these undertakings, by participating in labor's struggles and by joining with other advanced workers to carry these struggles to higher levels.

4. The resolution characterizes our past errors as primarily left sectarianism and places the major responsibility for this on the leadership. We placed at the center of our trade union work such issues as the Marshall plan, the Progressive Party and the Stockholm petition, etc. While there is a danger of tailing the leaders of the labor movement and of passivity the major obstacle to the development of a mass line was and is left sectarianism. In spite of our party's errors many trade union Communists played and continue to play a valuable and correct role. Had there been closer relationship between the leadership and membership the left sectarian policies might not have lingered as long as they did.

5. It points up the need for a new approach to unity and coalition in the labor movement. Despite the variety of viewpoints in the labor movement and the procapitalism outlook of the top officialdom, unity can be created around the key issues facing labor. We must discard an approach based on rigid characterizations of left, center or right divisions within the labor movement. We should work for rank-and-file unity on key issues, which, in turn, can force the leadership to be more responsive to the needs and demands of the workers. Our policy is based on class struggle as against class collaboration. Class-struggle policies are those which make the employers and especially the big monopolies the main hindrance to labor's advance and which can unite all sections of labor to struggle on vital issues.

6. It calls upon Communists to become active members in the life of their unions; to participate in the work and committees of the unions, to work for wider participation of all members in the life of their union. It rejects the charge that we "interfere" in trade unions or seek to "capture" or "control" them. Any trade unionist worth his salt strives to strengthen his union—so do Communists. Trade unionists who are Communists have no interest apart from their brother and sister union members. We respect the democratic processes of all organizations to which we may belong, whether it be the Communist Party, a union, a PTA, etc. Communist trade unionists present their viewpoints on issues and policies but they do so as part of a union, devoted to it, and abiding by its decisions. Active in union affairs, dedicated to the cause of labor, to unity in its struggles, they seek to recruit into their party those workers who have come to see the need for socialism, for a fundamental change in the economic system. Communist trade unionists have a vital contribution to make in labor's struggle for peace, progress, and security.

TRADE UNION RESOLUTION: PART II

Of special concern to this convention are the central problems facing the labor movement of our area. The southern California working class continues to grow at an amazing pace. This has become the major center in the country for the aircraft and electronics industries, with aircraft the single greatest employer. It is a major center for auto, steel, rubber, maritime, plastic, machine shops, needle, furniture, food processing, distributive trades, office and one of the greatest building trades centers in the country. The growth of our working class is accompanied by a constant influx into our area of new workers, many without previous union experience.

The working class of Los Angeles is spread over a huge area. This is not a one-industry area. Thus highlighting the need for trade union and community relationships. Many of the workers are union members under national contracts that are centered elsewhere and the majority of union members did not participate in the great struggles that built the modern labor movement.

These are some of the features of our area. They point up the need for a flexible and varied approach in our work.

This resolution emphasized the following issues in the task of advancing the cause of labor in our area:

1. Organize the unorganized: Approximately 37 percent of the workers are organized in southern California. Huge industries, such as electronics, are virtually unorganized. Great pockets of unorganized threaten the standards of the organized, such as sportswear in relation to the needle trades, and Northrup in relation to aircraft. Only a fraction of the machinist trade is organized. Other than grocery, most of the retail and distributive industry is unorganized. Organization of the unorganized remains the major problem for unions here. We should rally support for and, wherever possible, help initiate local campaigns to organize the unorganized.

2. Independent political action: We can contribute toward furthering labor's independent political activity by supporting the efforts of COPE, LLPE, CIO-PAC and the regional and local union political action groups to exert more effective labor pressure on the Democratic Party, in helping labor improve its relations with community organizations and develop community based labor organizations, such as the churches community council and coordinating council. We should support labor's legislative program, and especially should we strive to win full labor participation in the fight for FEPC. We should also help reinforce labor's alliances with the organizations and representatives of minority groups, especially of the large Negro and Mexican-American and Jewish minorities.

3. It is essential that we participate in and support the struggle on issues that arise on a shop and local level. Each shop and local has different problems, forms of struggle, history and traditions. In the past we often placed top-level issues in contradiction to shopwork. Now we must reemphasize work at the shop level and relate the movements around such issues to the broader questions facing labor.

III

Antilabor forces have prepared an offensive to hamstring and, if possible, destroy the labor movement. Signs of this attack are Eisenhower's economic message attacking labor's economic program, the indictment ordered against the UAW because of its political activity, and the current Senate Committee probe of racketeering in the labor movement. We shall assist in every way to unite all democratic forces in the struggle against further antilabor legislation. It needs to be understood that the Senate committee is out to injure labor, not to cleanse the unions. Key in the fight against this latest threat is the struggle of the unions to determine their own affairs, to extend and deepen internal democracy and to clean out their own gangsters and racketeers. Unity is needed now to block a new wave of antilabor legislation and to move more decisively in support of labor's legislative program.

The full fight of every unionist to speak his mind, to restore the feeling that it is his union, to put a stop to redbaiting and other divisive tactics—these need to be fought for to strengthen the labor movement and enable it to grow.

IV

The California labor movement has not yet completed the process of merging all sections of labor. We recognize that there are many knotty problems, involving such things as jurisdictional conflicts and leadership questions. But we agree with the national position of the AFL-CIO executive council that all these questions can be solved and some, such as jurisdiction, can be more easily solved within a united labor movement. Meanwhile, labor's own interests are endangered from antilabor sources so long as the disunity continues. We urge renewed efforts to consummate the merger locally and especially to make this a problem of the membership and not just the top committees.

V

It is essential that the Communist Party be so organized as to be able to cope most adequately with the problems listed above. Further attention after years of neglect must be paid to all central labor bodies to help develop further steps toward trade union unity. The problems of the organization, the political approach and the interrelation of our community and trade union work must be carefully examined and a program worked out.

Expressing our agreement with the national draft trade union resolution, we call on the entire party in southern California to concern itself with the problems before labor, to strengthen working class participation in all aspects of public life,

as essential in the development of an antimonopoly coalition. We call on all trade unionists to participate more actively in the life of their unions, to strengthen them and to develop the understanding and perspective for the road ahead so that labor can more effectively influence the affairs of the Nation and finally lead it in a Government which owns and operates the means of production for the people in a system of democracy and socialism.

EXHIBIT III

RESOLUTION ON NEGRO-LABOR ALLIANCE

The Negro people's struggle for full equality is the main uncompleted democratic task of our country. They are in the forefront of this struggle. All progressive sectors benefit from this struggle; all progressive sectors must take part in it. The welding of the two great fronts; the fight for full equality for the Negro people and the strengthening and progressive extension of the labor movement would bring great advances to the people of our country, and to labor in the first place. We reassert the statement made by Karl Marx 100 years ago: "Labor in the white skin will never be free as long as labor in the black skin is branded."

The fact that there are 2 million Negro trade unionists compels attention to their immediate demands as workers and also helps bring forward to the labor movement the struggles of the Negro people for democratic and equal rights.

There is greater understanding of many issues of common interest to both the labor movement and the Negro people. Great strides have been made in the struggle for Negro rights in the labor movement and the furtherance of the Negro-labor alliance. There is a greater realization in the trade-union movement that the struggle to advance democracy and the fight for civil rights for all Americans and protect and advance the rights of the trade unions has as its central task the fight for complete equality for the Negro people. As an example, the issue of the organization of the South has brought both movements up against the White Citizens Councils, the anti-labor and Negro force in the South.

As a further example a Negro-labor alliance could further encourage and strengthen the organization of thousands of doubly exploited Negro workers in the great unorganized industries of LA such as needle, electrical, etc.

There is growing indication of the furtherance of the Negro-labor alliance. The AFL-CIO elected two Negro vice presidents at their last convention. In California the NAACP invited labor unions to their convention. The NAACP voted full support for the collective bargaining rights of organized labor. The State federation of labor and many locals officially support the fund and recruitment campaigns of the NAACP. Many locals were aroused to action by the Till case, the Wells case, the school desegregation fight and for Negro representation in political office.

There are still formidable obstacles to Negro-white unity in the labor movement. In large areas of the labor movement the Negro is still barred, if not by regulation, by custom or practice. The leading Jim Crow "bitter enders" in labor's ranks fight against integration and equality for Negro workers and try to check the federation's full participation in the surging battles for school desegregation, against anti-Negro violence in the South, against the White Citizens Councils and for the right to vote.

Today the need to achieve a higher degree of active support by the labor movement for the demands of the Negro people is a prime question. It is this unity, and the understanding which is developed in the course of the struggle, that expose the common enemy to all. The furthering of the Negro-labor alliance is one of the key aspects in the movement for the development of an antimonopoly coalition.

The next step in furthering of the common aims of the alliance should be directed towards support of:

The mobilization for the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, May 17—Washington, D. C.

Fuller participation of the labor movement in the fight for FEP in California.

The fight against any and all Jim Crow practices in the labor movement. The greater participation of the entire labor and peoples movement to organize the unorganized and to organize the South.

The daily fight against discrimination wherever it appears.

The daily fight for jobs, upgrading, and the satisfaction of the grievances of the Negro workers, the breaking down of Jim Crow in some of the big industries, such as oil and railroad.

Full participation of the labor movement in the fight for school desegregation, against violence by White Citizens Councils and for elimination of discriminating practices.

The fight for Negro representation on all levels of the labor movement. In defining our role as fighting for the interests of the working class as a whole Communists must continue along the path they pioneered—the fight for full equality and for Negro-white unity. To win the Negro people in support of labor and to win labor in full support of the Negro peoples freedom struggles is a prime task for all Communists.

EXHIBIT IV

RESOLUTION ON MEXICAN WORK

The Mexican people are the largest minority group in the Southwest. They form an important portion of the labor force of the Southwest, and are subjected to ruthless exploitation. Their struggles for equality advance the struggles of all working people. This has not been sufficiently recognized on a national level, or even in the States, by our party.

In the past 8 years, there have been only 2 pamphlets (Stepchildren of a Nation) and (Shame of the Nation) and 3 articles in Political Affairs. This lack of material has not created an understanding of the importance of the Mexican question.

Taken discussions on Cinco de Mayo and the 16th of September do not take the place of a consistent development of a line that will answer the needs of the Mexican community and build unity between it, the Negro people, and labor.

Mexican organizations today are reflecting the needs of their people in demands for education, elimination of discrimination—whether on the job or in housing—political representation, etc. How can we work to develop these programs and to advance them further?

There is a need for an educational program that will tackle the problem of the "drop out" prior to high-school graduation, which is a twofold problem of economics and discrimination. There is a need for apprenticeship training programs, to advance the Mexican worker from unskilled to skilled labor. We should support the existing demands for an extended scholarship campaign for higher education.

The present demand of some of the Mexican organizations is to eliminate discrimination in private housing (segregated tracts). There is a need also to project a program of low-cost, private housing through Government loans.

In terms of political representation, we should study those areas where it is possible to advance Mexican representation on school boards, city councils, and in county and State central committees of political parties, including our own.

Especially, we should study the areas in which we work to better know the location of concentration of Mexican workers in industry, as well as in agriculture. If this were common knowledge, the leading progressive paper on the west coast would not restrict a Spanish column to its Los Angeles edition. The column will find readers in Oakland, San Jose, Salinas, the entire San Joaquin Valley as well as Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona and should be included in other editions.

Both the national and local levels of party organization have the responsibility to establish channels so that a program of Mexican work can be developed. We must combat all Anglo-chauvinist influence within our ranks which might deter the attainment of this objective. Therefore, to give proper consideration to the development of Mexican work, we should:

1. Plan an educational program which would include constant publication of discussion material on Mexican work.
2. Give greater emphasis to the development of Mexican cadre.
3. Publish material for mass distribution in English and Spanish for use in Mexican concentration areas.
4. Do research so that facts and figures may be furnished to prove existing conditions, which are generally accepted and acknowledged in the community, but which are not available through official statistics (number of workers in food processing, garment, steel industries, etc., income figures in these industries, etc.)

5. Districts take appropriate organizational steps to coordinate the work in order to implement the above resolution, and to establish liaison between the North and South.

6. National Committee to be informed of this for appropriate action.

EXHIBIT V

THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES

The size and character of the American Jewish community, and the nature of the problems of the Jewish people make this one of the Nation's most important minority groups. There are approximately 5,200,000 Jews in the United States, constituting the largest Jewish community in a world Jewish population of approximately 12 million.

In Los Angeles County there are between 425,000 to 450,000 Jews (about 8 to 9 percent of the population) constituting the second largest American Jewish community.

The American Jewish community is perhaps the most highly organized minority community in the United States. In the field of social welfare, religion, adult and child education, fraternal organizations, publication and research societies, newspapers in Yiddish and English, there is a large magnitude of organization. There are neighborhood community centers in most populated areas, and democratically constituted Jewish community councils in many large cities. In Los Angeles there are over 350 organizations affiliated with the Jewish Community Council.

One of the unique features of American Jewish life in the past 2 decades is that it has not followed the typical pattern of assimilation that characterizes other nationality groups within our land. The quantity, quality, and proportion of Jewish people identified with organized Jewish life in all its forms has increased. This is not to gainsay a slight and continuing increase in the rate of intermarriage and in the historical tendency toward assimilation as anti-Semitism has diminished, and as neighborhood concentration of Jewish people have thinned out. Nevertheless, organized Jewish life is more flourishing than ever. Extended study of the causes of this phenomenon is warranted; however, the answers will probably fall along the following general lines: the increase sense of identity as a result of Hitler's extermination of Jewish people, the identification with Israel's freedom struggles, the renewed interest of many parents who had not been identified with Jewish life in Jewish education for their children, the effects of a period of prosperity which led to institution building.

The characteristics of the American Jewish population, its residential and economic distribution, and its political character warrant attention. Because of historical restrictions on residence and occupations, Jewish people tended to become urban-dwellers and to go into commerce or to get training in particular skills such as the needle trades. This does not mean that the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people were not workers. Approximately 60 percent of the immigrants who came to our shores were tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, jewelers, etc., and another 10 percent were unskilled workers, and another 10 percent domestic workers. As late as 1950 it was estimated that 60 to 70 percent of the Jewish population were in the category of those who work for others. This however, still leaves a disproportion as compared with the general population in the number of those who are owners, or in management associate with owners or in independent professions.

A 1950 study for Los Angeles showed that 31.1 percent of employed Jews were proprietors and managers, 16.9 percent professionals and semiprofessionals, 31.1 percent white collar workers, 20.9 percent manual workers. The recent period of prosperity is most likely accentuating these trends.

This is not to say the Jews have a dominant place in American industry. The myth of Jewish control has been discredited by such studies as those of Fortune magazine in 1936 and Carey McWilliams "Mask for Privilege" in 1948, in which it is revealed that Jews have almost no part in the ownership of America's basic industries, steel, oil, coal, chemicals, transportation, manufacturing of machines and machine tools, or in the financial and insurance institutions of the land.

The economic composition of the Jewish people reflects itself in organized Jewish life where the predominant role is increasingly played by middle-class, native-born, English-speaking elements. This affects the political orientation of the Jewish community, but an accurate picture must be drawn not only in class terms

but also in national-group terms. The objective character of the Jewish group as a national group has resulted in various instances of unity which have cut across class lines, as in the opposition to the racist features of the McCarran-Walter Act, and in opposition to Senator McCarthy's Fort Monmouth investigations.

A recent study by Prof. Lawrence Fuchs of Brandeis University, entitled "The Political Behavior of American Jews," reveals that, on the basis of analysis of election returns, 90 percent of the Jewish people voted for Roosevelt, and that their vote generally has been in the direction of social welfare, liberalism, and peaceful international relations.

In foreign affairs, Jewish reaction to the renazification of Germany and to United States policy toward Israel have placed most Jewish groups in opposition to official United States policy. On the other hand, these acts themselves are limited by the very class character of American Jewish groups, so that Jewish self-defense is often blunted, and the larger aims of American foreign policy remain largely unquestioned. Examples of this are the abortive fight against German renazification and the acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine. The contradictions between class character and national group character require much more refinement of analysis than we have given in the past 10 years, if we are to avoid the errors of blanket generalization and of wrong policy based on this.

Changed circumstances concerning the bourgeois nationalist philosophy of Zionism also require more refinement of analysis. The basic philosophy of Zionism has been that only in a homeland in Palestine can the problems of the Jewish people be solved. This philosophy has had little meaning in practice for American Jews, who have overwhelmingly considered their residence in the United States as permanent, even though a large number, perhaps a majority, thought of themselves as Zionists. In recent days the theory has begun to catch up with the practice. The "new Zionism" embraces the "permanence of life outside of Israel" and projects a reciprocal relationship between a national center in Israel which inspires world Jewry culturally, and the various permanent Jewish communities which are to give financial, political, and moral support to Israel.

Along with this change, however, it must be recognized that the recent crises in Israel have given a qualitatively new character to organized Jewish life in the United States. Interest in Israel precedes interest in the fight against anti-Semitism or for civil liberties. The almost unanimous defense by Jewish organizations of Israel's attack on Egypt is an extreme expression of nationalism, an example of sentiment based on group loyalty rather than on the basis of issues.

It is not certain how deep going or permanent this sentiment will be. In the period after 1950 sales declined of bonds for Israel and divisions developed in American Zionist ranks. The future may see similar changes as the broader issues of anticolonialism and world peace develop.

Our judgment of the future depends in some measure upon our estimate of the present and future character of anti-Semitism. On this question more attention must be given to the present character of anti-Semitism in the United States. Although there are sporadic incidents of violence and anti-Semitism, and areas of higher education, employment, and government service where anti-Semitism is pronounced, these things have reduced in virulence in recent years.

The center of interest of the Jewish people has shifted away from anti-Semitism to the question of Israel, of civil liberties, and of the fight of the Negro people for their rights. Hate groups are still a subject of study, and Arab anti-Jewish propaganda in the United States has come under analysis, but these are not regarded as major questions.

Middle class groups fighting anti-Semitism have tended to look on small gains as a cause for optimism and relaxed vigilance. Marxists and progressives have underscored the character of anti-Semitism as an economic and political weapon, used by the ruling groups to divert people from the basic causes of their problems and to lead the masses in the direction of fascism.

Both groups accept the fact of anti-Semitism as a widespread, latent factor in the population. This is based upon polls and studies which show that great numbers of American people have anti-Semitic prejudice, and that children absorb these attitudes at an early age.

While both groups accept these facts, Marxists see this in terms of economic development, declaring that the potential of anti-Semitism will be made actual in time of economic crisis.

The work of the Communist Party in the United States must proceed on the basis of a concrete analysis of the American Jewish community, its changes over the years, its trends into the future.

Certain theoretical questions have either been inadequately treated or neglected altogether. We must look again at the national question in particular reference to the Jewish people in the United States. We must make our own estimate of the relationship between the assimilatory and preservative forces in American Jewish life. We must ask whether errors with respect to the Jewish question in the Soviet Union became the basis for error in party work in the United States, not only in the sense of uncritical acceptance of the status of Jewish life and culture in the U. S. S. R. but also around the theoretical question of the "integration" of Jewish life with Soviet life. We should also ask for renewed study of the international status of the Jewish people, both in the theoretical sense of its status and definition, and in the practical sense of its organizational forms.

We must proceed in a more detailed way than we have done to analyze our errors in Jewish work in the past 10 years. During the 1930's independent left Jewish organizations as well as individual progressives in various Jewish organizations made great contributions in the fight for a militant policy against anti-Semitism, in the fight for a united front against fascism, in struggles for social legislation, in the upbuilding of the CIO and the trade union movement generally, and in the fight for Negro rights around cases such as that of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon. In the 1940's this flowered in many united front actions, locally, nationally, and internationally, in which progressive forces played a role.

During this period also the Soviet Union had great prestige as a land that had outlawed anti-Semitism and saved millions of Jews from Hitler's gas ovens. In the immediate postwar period the Soviet Union's role in the United Nations in advancing Israel's cause, and the Czechoslovak military aid to Israel in 1948, further heightened this prestige.

The source of our errors in this field, as in all party work, must be sought not only in the objective conditions of the cold war but in the inflexible and sectarian policies we pursued during this period. Social democracy is a particularly strong force in the Jewish community, and there grew a tendency on our part to regard social democracy as the main enemy. The general pressure of foreign policy, as well as the increasing propaganda to the effect that the Soviet Union was anti-Israel and anti-Semitic, and the general drive of the Jewish community to rid itself of a "retaint," led to the expulsion of independent groups from community councils, and the isolation of many progressive individuals in community organizations, within these objective circumstances, however, errors were made in the nature of issues which became breaking points, and in the manner in which issues were fought. The atmosphere under which policy was formulated was dominated by general party thinking on the imminence of war, fascism, and economic crises.

Around the question of Israel both left-sectarian and right-opportunist tendencies existed. The failure to deal concretely with the life in Israel with cognizance of its progressive sectors and some of its positive achievements gave our position a negative, unbalanced, and sectarian character. On the other hand many of our comrades in community organizations went along with uncritical acceptance of Israeli actions both because of an inadequate theoretical approach to the question and a failure to work out correct tactical approaches.

There lies ahead of us a concrete analysis of our errors in specific organizations as a groundwork for more effective future policy and work. In many organizations many comrades continue to enjoy respect because of the presence of relatively advanced elements in many sectors of Jewish life. Such forces offer good hope for improved work in the field.

Questions before us for further study are:

- (1) How to avoid the extremes of negating Israel and of accepting its actions uncritically.
- (2) How to work in religious groups while keeping ourselves and our children free of the religious doctrine of these groups.
- (3) How to avoid the extremes of taking on all issues and avoiding all issues.
- (4) How to balance Jewish work with our interests as Marxists in general trade union, minorities, and peoples' movements.

What is to be our independent role in the Jewish community? It is perhaps premised on the general position that the fate of the Jewish people is linked with the fate of workers and minority groups. It consists in advancing this philosophy in terms of immediate issues and in terms of long-run education for socialism. It consists in interpreting Jewish culture in terms of those ancient prophetic ideals, and those modern experiences in American and European history, which best exemplify the ideals of social justice, freedom, and peace.

Certain questions before us depend, in great part, on the general situation in our party. Guidance and leadership in an independent role can be carried by independent organizations, by a specific national group press, or by special articles in the general party press.

In all of these possibilities, the party has been stronger in the Jewish field than in any other national groups and minorities. What are the prospects ahead: Is it necessary or possible to build new independent organizations, as in the English speaking field? Is it necessary and possible to carry on the independent journal, *Jewish Life*?

These are the questions in the days ahead.

Finally, there is the question of party organization itself in the Jewish field. There are substantial forces at work in the Jewish community. What is the best way of consulting, of giving guidance to each other? Should there be commissions on a division basis, surmounted by a county commission? Should there be commissions or groupings on a functional basis, in terms of the common problems of people in community centers, in religious groups, in fraternal groups?

This convention instructs the incoming county district to constitute a Jewish commission to begin the investigation of these questions and to come forth with proposals concerning matters both of theory and organizational forms in the Jewish field.

EXHIBIT VI

RESOLUTION ON THE PEOPLE'S WORLD

Historically, all Socialist and militant movements have considered the distribution of the written word and especially of periodicals as central to their political activity. For this reason the Communist Party supports the *People's World*.

The Communist Party on the west coast has been the major supporter of the paper and will continue to be so for some time to come.

In taking steps to unify our party in support of the decisions of the 16th national convention we must again take energetic measures to support and build the *People's World*.

We endorse the policy of the paper and the direction which it must go as stated by the management and editorial committee. This policy was enunciated by Al Richmond, executive editor, at the State convention of the Communist Party.

"Continue the paper as an organ with a Socialist perspective and Marxist outlook striving to bring into being an antimonopoly coalition. It will present the viewpoint of the left to the potential elements of such a coalition and in the first place labor and the Negro people.

"Steps must be taken to attempt to broaden the paper from a party organ into a spokesman for the left including party and nonparty forces and to the creation of agencies that would employ this approach and to which the paper can be responsive in its conduct.

"This will be a regional paper, placing major emphasis on local and regional struggle and issues. This will be a paper with a working class orientation, placing major emphasis on developments within the trade unions.

"Emphasis will be on news on independent reporting and independent crusades relating to issues affecting the working class, the Negro community, the Mexican-American people and all potential elements of an antimonopoly coalition.

"The paper will invite the expression of a diversity of views but its general orientation will reflect the distinct policy of a united front in which Communists participate."

We Communists must therefore continue to support the *People's World* because such a paper can play an indispensable role on the Pacific coast in the resurgence of the progressive movement, in the fight for the emergence of an antimonopoly coalition, in the presentation of a left and Socialist viewpoint to the other elements of such a coalition.

This convention must rally the support of the party to fulfill the quota of 1,500 new readers and subscription renewals by May 1. We call on all sections and clubs and members to review its approach and efforts in this drive. Experience has shown that objectively the situation has improved to where there is a heartening response to the paper. Together with renewed efforts to successfully complete the subscription drive we must again place attention to various means to popularize and build the paper such as regular route distribution and delivery, increase of street sales, getting new street racks, selling the paper at meetings and gatherings, organization of area readers committees, etc.

We must help bring and meet the immediate financial needs of the paper to all supporters of the People's World. Our party should support to the fullest extent of its strength the present loan campaign of the paper to guarantee its publication.

Recognizing the huge debt and operating deficit the paper is working under, this convention endorses and supports the proposals of the management committee for the 1957 financial drive.

1. The quota for the west coast was set at \$90,000, which includes the entire estimated operating deficit and allows some money for the payment of the most pressing debts.

2. The quota for southern California to be \$55,000.

3. The drive to start June 1 and end August 15.

4. All money received during the fund drive for new subscription to be credited to the drive.

For southern California we adopt these proposals:

1. We start the drive on June 1 by raising 30 percent.

2. All Communist Party organizations discuss and plan the drive by adopting quotas, discussing a voluntary drive for a day's pay from every People's World supporter, plan meetings, have house parties and public affairs for the People's World.

3. That we support a People's World mass meeting in the first week of June.

In the recent period, there has been extensive discussion in many nonparty circles about the People's World. A few weeks ago a Southern California People's World Committee was established. This committee will strive to include all people who support the paper including individuals and representatives of organizations. It will interest itself and take part in all aspects of the paper. The Communist Party welcomes the establishment of this committee and supports it by urging people to join and by taking part in its undertakings.

We should organize our support to the People's World by establishing a Communist Party committee that, while cooperating with the People's World, will guarantee our commitments to the paper as the main base of its support. The incoming county committee is hereby instructed to establish a Communist Party committee for the People's World that will seek personnel, press directors in each section and club and that can plan the work, exchange experiences and again place the work of the Communist Party in support and use of the press as an important ingredient of all our political activity.

EXHIBIT VII

LETTER TO CONVENTION DELEGATES FROM THE PEOPLE'S WORLD

APRIL 12, 1957.

DEAR DELEGATE: By courtesy of your convention committee we address this convention on two urgent problems of the People's World.

The People's World being a labor and progressive newspaper cannot exist without the sustained support of such groups as the Communist Party. Therefore, your action on these pressing immediate matters is of extreme importance.

First is the vital question of increase in circulation, the lifeline of the paper. Today out of a goal of 1,500 subscriptions in Los Angeles we have approximately 650. To reach the goal of 1,500 by June 1 we will need 350 additional subscriptions by May 1 and the balance of 500 in the following month.

Second is the need for loans to tide over until the financial drive starting June 1. Loans in any amounts, although preferably \$100 or over, are needed immediately, especially from now until April 20.

We ask the delegates of this convention to assume personal and organization responsibility for immediate action on these two pressing matters.

Fraternally yours,

PEOPLE'S WORLD,
Los Angeles Staff.

(Please fill this out)

1. I personally pledge ----- subscriptions by June 1.
2. I pledge to urge my organization to work for ----- subscriptions by June 1.
3. I pledge to raise loans of \$----- by April 20 returnable by August 15 or on demand.

EXHIBIT VIII

DRAFT—BYLAWS

The name of this area division shall be Southern California District, Communist Party, U.S.A., hereinafter referred to as "district."

The district subscribes to and functions in accordance with the constitution of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and sets forth the following bylaws as specified in article IV, section 2 of the constitution.

ARTICLE I. JURISDICTION

The northern limits of the district shall be Kern County and Santa Barbara County and shall include all party organizations in southern California.

ARTICLE II. CONVENTION

SECTION 1.—The highest body of the district shall be the district convention.

SEC. 2.—The convention shall convene regularly every second year at least 30 days prior to the national convention.

SEC. 3.—Election of delegates to the district convention shall be held by secret ballot and in accordance with the provisions of the call to the convention.

SEC. 4.—Delegates to the convention shall be elected by clubs in proportion to membership as determined by the call to the convention. In addition there shall be 1 delegate from each section (or equivalent subdivision).

SEC. 5.—Delegates to the convention must be members in good standing for at least 1 year of membership in the Communist Party, prior to election.

SEC. 6.—Special district conventions may be called either by two-thirds vote of the district council or by written request of subdivisions representing one-third of the membership. The basis for representation shall be determining [sic] in the same way as that of regular conventions.

ARTICLE III. STRUCTURE

SECTION 1.—Article IV of the constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A. shall prevail.

SEC. 2.—The district council shall be the highest political and governing body between conventions.

SEC. 3.—The district council shall be elected in the following manner:

A. Prior to the convention each section (or equivalent subdivision), shall elect 1 delegate to the district council, plus additional representation as allocated by the previous district convention. Such election shall be held at a section membership meeting by secret ballot, the total comprising not less than two-thirds of the council.

B. The district convention shall elect members-at-large to the district council, by secret ballot, the number of which shall at no time exceed one-third of the total body, as allocated by the convention.

SEC. 4.—Delegates to the district council must be members in good standing for 2 years in the Communist Party prior to election.

SEC. 5.—Each delegate to the district council is entitled to one vote.

SEC. 6.—A quorum of the district council shall be one-third of the delegates.

SEC. 7.—The district council shall meet no less than once every 6 weeks, notification of such meeting shall be sent 5 days prior to the meeting.

SEC. 8.—Special meetings of the district council may be called by polling a quorum.

SEC. 9.—The district council shall be authorized to set up clubs, sections, or other subdivisions as the need arises and no other organization or group shall be bona fide unless so authorized by the district council.

SEC. 10.—Vacancies in the district council shall be filled as follows:

A. Delegates, upon leaving a section (or equivalent subdivision) or, in the event of inability to carry out duties for other reasons, who have been directly elected by a section (or equivalent subdivision) shall be replaced in the same manner in which they were elected, as provided for in article III, section 3 (A).

B. Vacancies created by delegates-at-large, who have been elected at the convention, shall be filled by a special election of the district council with not less than two-thirds of the council present.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

SECTION 1.—At the first meeting of the district council it shall elect a chairman, secretary and other officers as the council deems necessary, and an executive board.

SEC. 2.—To qualify as an officer, the candidate must be an elected member of the district council.

SEC. 3.—The council shall set up as many subcommittees as it deems necessary in the conduct of its work. The chairman of any such subcommittee shall be a member of the district council.

SEC. 4.—The district council shall have the right to appoint and hire such staff as it deems necessary to conduct the activity and business of the organization.

SEC. 5.—The officers and executive board shall have the authority to carry out decisions of the council and conduct the business of the district between council meetings.

ARTICLE IV. [ALTERNATE]

Section 1.—The district convention shall elect a chairman for the district. At the first meeting of the district council it shall elect a secretary and other officers as the council deems necessary and an executive board.

(The constitution committee proposes that sec. 1, art. IV shall be a convention decision, therefore the above alternate is attached to this document.)

ARTICLE V. RECALL AND CHURCHES

Section 1.—Any section (or equivalent subdivision) may recall or remove its delegate to the district council by a two-thirds vote of its membership.

Section 2.—Any member-at-large of the district council is subject to removal by a two-thirds vote of the district council for just cause.

Section 3.—Any officer of the district council may be removed from his post, for just cause, by a two-thirds vote of the council.

ARTICLE VI. AMENDING BYLAWS

These bylaws may be amended [sic] by the regular or special convention of the district or by referendum vote of the membership. Such referendum must be initiated either by a two-thirds vote of the district council or by subdivisions of the district representing two-thirds of the membership.

EXHIBIT IX

RULES

1. The convention shall be called to order Saturday and Sunday at 10 a. m. and adjourned at 5:30 p. m., except that on the last day the adjournment time may vary by permission of the convention.

2. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for the exclusive use of delegates and those county committee members having voice but no vote. Visitors shall occupy those seats especially assigned to them.

3. No member of the convention shall speak more than once on the same question, until all who desire to speak have been heard. Speeches shall be limited to 5 minutes, and no deviation from the above shall be permitted except by consent of the majority.

4. The convention shall be governed by Roberts Rules of Order, except that when a motion to table is made, the motion shall not be put until the introducer of the original motion and the maker of the motion to table be given an opportunity to speak on the question.

5. All resolutions must first be submitted to the resolutions committee.

6. Committee reports on specific subjects shall receive prior consideration.

7. A motion for the previous question may be adopted by majority vote of the convention.

8. Only delegates may vote.

9. A special order of business for Saturday, 4:30 p. m., and Sunday, 1:15 p. m., shall be the election of delegates.

10. Nobody in attendance may leave the convention while it is in session without the permission of the sergeant at arms.

11. Those delegates desiring to speak shall present themselves before a microphone on the convention floor and shall be recognized by the chairman in order of their appearance.

Rules adopted with four abstaining.

EXHIBIT X

REPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION AND ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

In this report, like all other matters before the convention the biggest problem is what must be left out. It was our hope that we could at least survey the past in order to make sure that all the lessons of our organizational methods, concepts, forms, and approaches could be examined in order to draw some of the necessary lessons, both positive and negative. It was our hope that such an examination could be opened for general debate and discussion at the convention. However, all of the delegates are aware of the problems this convention is confronted with—that makes it impossible. The constitution committee is therefore recommending to the convention a resolution which calls upon the incoming district leadership to prepare a conference to be held prior to the national conference on organization that is projected. The purpose of such a conference would be to do precisely those things that we are unable to do today. Such a conference will assist us in southern California—as well as add to the total experiences and approaches for our entire national organization.

Today, we are only able to deal with the most pressing problems before the southern California district organization—mainly structure.

Although our convention is meeting a full year after the discussions on our party has begun—there are many concepts and questions on which agreement must yet be arrived at. Almost every Communist has his own opinion of the source of our problems, the nature of the crisis and what is necessary to resolve the problems. But there is one question that everyone agrees on—and that is—we must find the methods and forms to make our party a much more democratic organization. The reason for the concern on the part of our membership and leadership on the matter is a fundamental one—unless we can find the ways to guarantee full democracy our organization will be unable to meet the challenge of the new problems posed before it. It is not that we desire democracy mainly because it is more pleasant to work under such conditions, although that is not a bad reason, in itself. We know that unless every individual member of the Communist Party is able to contribute his experiences, his opinions, and his conclusions from his activity it will be impossible for us to develop line and policy that will reflect the reality of life in the United States. It is impossible for any level of leadership to deal creatively with policymaking unless it is based on experiences of the people at the place of production—the mass movements of the people.

Our line must be derived from the application of Marxism-Leninism to life as it is in the United States. It is impossible for the leadership to test the correctness of any policy unless it is debated by the people who must carry it into life—and can see and express their opinions and be heard. Let me give only one example: I remember vividly in 1950, when I was S. O. in a very progressive community—our comrades were attempting to carry out the line of our party in support of the IPP candidates. Not one, but dozens of comrades reported to us the resistance of the people to our line. Did we listen? Did we estimate that perhaps our line was incorrect if it encountered such resistance? No! Our answer was our comrades must obviously be doing it badly. Certainly if this was the experience in the Eastside it was the experience throughout the country. Had we listened, perhaps we could have corrected our line earlier and not further isolated ourselves until the results of the 1952 elections brought home to us how far we had moved from the mainstream of the working class, Negro, Mexican, and other people of our country. In every field of work this lack of the essential feature of a democratic method of work could be demonstrated. The effect of this on our organization we know now only too well; it had a twofold effect: (1) it deprived the party of the ability to test its line among the people because we did not listen to or create the channels for comrades who were working among the people, and (2) it made it mighty impossible for many people who wanted to debate line and policy based on their experiences to remain in the party, so many of them left because they could not live in this atmosphere and many we expelled because they insisted upon raising their differences.

Certainly, comrades, when we talk about democracy in our organization as a key to guaranteeing the correctness of our line and policy, we are not talking mainly about form—it is the content of the question that is our concern. But unless we find the correct forms, there can be no way for the content to be expressed.

At the first session of our county convention we passed a resolution that indicated that the primary source of our errors was a dogmatic approach to theory—that political line was developed without too much regard to the specifics of the American scene. If this was true, and I believe it was, on the political level, it was doubly true on the organizational level. Almost every organizational form became a gospel. The very purpose of organization was often turned into its very opposite.

The purpose of organization is to find forms and methods for activity and the expression of groups of individuals. At least in the more recent period, groups of individuals became the vehicle for the will of a few.

A central principle of organization that people act on the basis of conviction was replaced by action by command.

And certainly in this last period we violated even our own standards of democracy, limited though they might have been, as expressed in our national constitution.

In the opinion of the constitution committee, the constitution adopted by our national convention goes a long way in spelling out for us forms and methods that insure the twofold aspects of democracy that we are concerned about: (1) the ability of the party to engage in activity in a unified way; and (2) the forms for debate, change, modification, and expression of our comrades. However, we also know that many questions that go to the heart of democratic practices cannot be written down. They deal with matters of atmosphere, relations between comrades, attitudes of rank and filism, and doing away with some of the phoney distinctions between leaders and members that sometimes became habit with us. They are exemplified in such matters as confidence in each other when questions off the beaten track are raised. The essence of atmosphere that cannot be written down in a constitution and yet constitutes the heart of democracy is a recognition that the members of the Communist Party are voluntarily gathered together because they are deeply concerned and have dedicated their energy to social progress today and for the realization of mankind's long dream of ending the exploitation of man by man, which we know will be socialism. Each of us has the right to expect to be heard, to be listened to, to be accorded respect for our opinion, and to find together each one's contribution to the struggle. There is no way to say it in the constitution—we just must learn to live it. Every Communist is a human being, different from every other. We have to respect each one's special abilities, talents, and strengths and recognize that everyone can make their contribution in a different way. We must stop imposing a mold and stop saying that there is only one way to contribute to the fight for socialism. It is in this kind of an atmosphere that every member will find a place, and our party will grow stronger with every member's contribution. This is the atmosphere of democracy that we must create, because it can't be codified in bylaws and rules. It must become a way of life in our party.

In preparing for this convention the constitution committee organized meetings in every division to discuss what the comrades felt was key to begin to change the methods of operation in our county. About 125 comrades were involved in these meetings and in turn brought the discussion back to their clubs and sections. It is as a result of these discussions that the constitution committee brings in the proposals today on structure and bylaws.

We started our discussions on organizational forms with the recognition that the central job of the party is to find ways to strengthen our ties with the working class and other sections of the people—the job of every Communist and of the party as a whole must be to find ways to participate in every struggle that moves the people and constantly seek areas of agreement for extending the unit of the people as the central guaranty for further social advances and progress. Only to the degree that we become an integral part of these movements of the people will we be able to find the ways to advance the struggles of the people of our country. It was with this objective as our goal—that we discussed what organizational forms could assist us in accomplishing our main job today.

In the opinion of the overwhelming majority of comrades in Los Angeles County who participated there are two central questions that can help us begin to organize a more democratic and effective form of organization within the framework of the Constitution adopted. (1) is the character, functioning

and form of the party club, and, (2) is the simplification of our apparatus in order to accomplish two things—(1) greater communications up and down between the membership and leadership and, (2) less numbers of comrades tied up in inner-party functioning so that a greater percentage of our people can be part of the mass movement.

First on the club—

The club must be the center of our work—it is the place where every Communist has his connection to the party—it is the point of production. In order to begin to accomplish this the first criterion of a club must be: does it have a defined purpose? Every club can have a somewhat different purpose—but there must be a reason for it to exist beyond a gathering place for a group of comrades to pay their dues. There can be clubs based upon a shop or an industry if they help the comrades do more effective work in that key area of the working class movement. The overwhelming majority of comrades in the industrial and shop clubs feel that this form is essential to continue to improve our work among the organized workers in the key industries and unions in Los Angeles. It is their opinion that in order to strengthen our ability to first and foremost influence the working class that shop and industry clubs must be strengthened because this is our main organized base for this work at this time.

There can be clubs who are collectively responsible for work within types of mass organizations, clubs who are responsible for work in a given community or city or town because even in a big county like Los Angeles there are dozens of small towns. There can be clubs of people in a given profession with their attention to how to influence the movements there. There can be clubs made up of comrades interested in given projects that will be of assistance to the party as a whole. The main guide must be—can these clubs fulfill the purpose of assisting the mass activity of the given groups of comrades, helping to develop all forms of unity activity in any given area of work, and can the club find forms for helping to develop independent expression of our socialist ideology among the people that work with the press, discussion groups, forums, literature, etc. The test can and must be that as a result of the existence of a club greater activity has taken place on some issue or phase of struggle among a section of the people that the club members are in contact with. Each club will have to be judged on what its objective was. Some clubs will make a greater contribution in one aspect, some clubs on another—but the totality will add up to the work of the party in southern California. Our main guide must be flexibility—does it satisfy the needs of a given group of comrades and advance the work of the party as a whole.

All other questions must be left to the comrades to determine—size, kind of officers, how often to meet, etc. It is already clear that in some areas the best form will be a club of 20 to 25, meeting once a month, with committees on phases of of mass work, meeting alternate weeks. In some clubs 12 to 15 members meeting every 2 weeks seems to be the answer. Our only guide to this question is that clubs shouldn't be too large to maintain contact with the membership or too small to make a good meeting with real exchange of opinion possible. How the club shall function shall be up to the comrades in that club.

The second feature of club life that there is general agreement on is that every club shall have initiative in application of the party line to their own area of work. They shall have the right after discussion in their club to determine what aspects of work apply to them, reject that which they feel does not. In this way it is hoped much more independence can be developed and the club can really become a center for creative Communist work rather than a dull gathering to receive directives. It also gives to the club the responsibility for evaluating their work right and wrong and to guarantee the growth and development through political challenge and direction of their own members. In all of the discussions that we have had there has not been any illusions that we can accomplish this by tomorrow, even based on the fact that this is what most of us want. We recognize that this like many questions in our party will be a process. But in order to begin the process, a start must be made. Every club must examine its own work, its history and determine if it has validity, and what if any changes must take place. Some clubs may feel that they should be abolished, some clubs may merge with others, or individuals may need to be shifted. But let's start now. The most important thing we must keep in mind is that we cannot be afraid of change. What will be devastating for us, is if we are afraid of new forms—new approaches new methods. There is nothing that can hurt the party more at this time than clinging to outmoded ways and fear of experimentation. Let's not be afraid of comrades who want to try new ways of accomplishing our objectives. Communists of all people, should appreciate that only by change, only by discarding that which has outlived its usefulness will any progress be made. Only by

changing many of our old methods and forms can we revitalize our organization, win back many who have left our ranks and begin to rebuild our organization. This is the challenge to each and every one of us.

There are many questions on clubs and club life that will have to be discussed—education, literature, the press, leadership training program etc. These are the questions that will have to be left to the organizational conference to be held.

The second question on structure is the section.

In a district the size of ours, it is clear that it is not possible for every club to be attached directly to the district committee. Therefore there must be some form of coordination of clubs on a local basis. Everyone agrees that the divisions should be done away with. That club coordination should take place as much as possible in a way that makes sense, again wherever possible. A group of clubs in one industry to be a section—a group of clubs based on professionals—or a group of clubs in a neighborhood that is a community or represents some interest in common—wherever possible hewing as close to political subdivisions as is feasible, knowing how badly gerrymandered many assembly and congressional districts are. But the main thing is that these clubs shall be brought together because they share something in common. If this is our guide then it is clear that just as every club will be different so every section will be different. In some areas there are only 2 or 3 clubs that can logically be brought together and really have political meaning. In other areas there may be 6 or 8 clubs that share a given community and each club has a share of the work that needs to be done. In other words our starting point is not how big—but what is its purpose.

In Los Angeles County, where we have been discussing this for 2 months now, there are proposals for reconstituting in sections in almost every area. In a number of places the proposals for are not yet finalized, but the proposals for existing sections are coming from the comrades in the areas, in consultation with the county, as is proper, and during the next weeks they will all be finalized. It is not the job of the convention to decide where sections will be or what constitutes a section. This must be left to the comrades in each locality who know their areas best. What is clear however is that every club must be attached to a section, or in the case of a large club in an area, attached to the county. No club can function without ties to a higher body. It is clear, as we, just a section contemplating major changes must do so in consultation with the county, so, too, must clubs that are considering fundamental changes do so in consultation with the sections. At this time it appears that there will be a minimum of 20 or a maximum of 22 sections in Los Angeles County—3 or 4 of which will be industrial sections with representation to the district council. Then there will be additional counties that should be attached directly to the district council: Orange, Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Bernardino, Riverside, and San Diego. The sections in Los Angeles will vary considerably in size—some such as BH-City Terrace, West Jefferson, Central, West Adams, and 1 or 2 others with over 100 members. In other areas sections will be 40 to 45 members or smaller. It is therefore clear that every section will have to determine its own form of leadership. The number of officers required, etc. The constitution committee, however, wishes to recommend that just as the national constitution makes it mandatory that all State and district leadership be representative—so in turn should the leading policymaking body of a section be made up of elected representatives from the clubs. Each section should have the right to determine how many from each club—but that the principle of elected representatives should apply. There has also been considerable discussion on how the sections will operate. The general feeling is, if the club is truly to become responsible for the work of its own club members and the club as a whole, that the concept of section leadership must change. The main responsibility of the section council is a twofold one—it must be the policymaking body of the section. Questions of line, application of policy, initiative to local area problems must become the task of the entire council, not just the officers of the section. The section council must coordinate the work of the clubs as well. In addition the section council must find its own way to participate in the central issues that are agreed upon by the district as a whole.

Finally the districts set up—one of the reasons for doing away with the State form of organization was again to make for a more simplified structure. Therefore, it was the opinion of the constitution committee that we would not attempt to have both a county and district structure. Rather, our proposals are that there be a district council to which every section in Los Angeles County and each of the outlying counties elect their own representatives based on membership. It is our opinion that the district council should be large enough to be representative of all phases of party, trade union, and mass work and yet not so

large that it is impossible to function. We felt that a committee of around 50 could fulfill these objectives; therefore, we are suggesting that every section or outlying county regardless have a minimum of 1 delegate, that for every additional 50 over 50 or major fraction thereof, 1 additional delegate. Our estimates are that this will be approximately 35. The constitution committee urges every section to immediately begin the necessary organizational changes so that no later than June 1, about 6 weeks from now, every new section will have been able to convene either a section membership meeting, a section delegated conference or convention to elect its delegates to the district council so that your new leadership can get to work before summer is upon us. We are proposing a motion to this convention at the close of this report on size of the district council.

Our proposed bylaws also call for this convention to be elected not more than one-third of the district committee at large. It is our opinion that this is very important to guarantee the best functioning of the district leadership. The incoming district council will have the responsibility of filling a number of county posts. There should be among the at-large members people who can fulfill such posts, otherwise there will be the need to take section delegates for such jobs. In addition, there are a number of important comrades from mass work who are necessary too for the best functioning of the district council, from the trade-union movement, from the Negro mass movement, from countywide mass organizations, etc. In our opinion two-thirds of the district council elected from the section and not more than one-third elected at large by the convention would give us a representative district council that can begin to meet the challenge of the multiple problems faced by our party in the coming months. Such a council, in the opinion of the constitution committee, could be truly representative of the party and begin to place the responsibility for policymaking on a broad section of the party instead of limiting it to fulltime functionaries and a few inner-party workers.

In making these proposals for some organizational changes, the constitution committee fully realizes that not all the answers for an extended period of time can be given. Nor are we completely certain that every suggestion will necessarily be correct. We know that in the coming period we'll learn by experience. Additional changes will have to be made as our experiences teach us what works and what doesn't. We know, too, that we cannot solve political problems by organizational solutions. But we feel that these suggestions give us the basis for starting some long overdue changes to begin to bring our organizational forms into line with our political objectives.

The challenge before our party is great. Each and every Communist is called upon to reach greater heights of understanding and activity than ever in our history. Each one of us must find our way of meeting this challenge; each one of us must determine where and how we can make our best contribution to help the party find again its way into the mainstream of American life, in the struggle for progress and socialism. We must understand that some will want to participate in the mass movement, some in more and deeper study—there must be room in our party for everyone. There is not one answer to how to start the process of rebuilding the party. It is in accepting every comrade's contribution, weighing each experience, listening to one another, learning from every comrade that the answers will begin to unfold. At every level of leadership—club, section, district—there must develop an approach that will permit this kind of an atmosphere to flourish. This is undoubtedly the hardest job of all for us—we who had been so confident that we knew all the answers, must now become the kind of people who are confident that we can find the answers, find them through debate, activity, and study, find them by learning about the world around us combined with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The months ahead will be the hardest. There are no ready-made answers. It will be easy to get discouraged, but the challenge to our party is clear. If we find and meet this challenge then the party will play its part in helping to lead the American people to defeat of their main enemy, monopoly capitalism, and open the pathway to socialism.

EXHIBIT XI

RESOLUTION OFFERED BY THE CONSTITUTION AND ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

The constitution and organizational committee moves the following for action by the convention:

- (1) The southern California district convention instructs the incoming district council to organize a conference to deal with problems of party organization to be held prior to the national organizational conference.

(2) The southern California district convention instructs the incoming district council to elect six of its members to represent southern California on the State coordinating committee.

(3) The southern California district convention authorizes the establishment of sections in Los Angeles County in accord with the proposals outlined in the constitution committee report. These sections shall be established by the members in the respective areas of work in consultation with the county leadership. After each section is established, their representatives to the district council shall be elected either by section membership meetings or by representative conferences or conventions of the new sections. These elections shall be completed no later than June 1 so that the district council can be established and begin to function.

(4) The district council shall have approximately 50 members. Section representatives shall be based on a minimum of 1 for every section and 1 additional for every 50 over the first 50 or major fraction thereof. The southern California district convention shall elect 17 members at large, which constitute no more than one-third of the total number of the district council.

EXHIBIT XII

COMMENTS ON THE STATUS OF THE PARTY

(By Dorothy Ray Healey)

The most serious aspect of the continuing crisis within the Communist Party is the growing separation of Communist from his fellow-Communist, the polarizing of opinion in some sections, with growing confusion and bewilderment in others; all leading to the continuing fragmentation of the party.

Name calling and abstract definitions (dogmatism versus revisionism) have become a substitute for debate and concrete examination of facts. Lenin and Marx called plenty of "names," but they made political characterizations based on substantial documentation. Our debates are replete with the "names" without that documentation. The debaters tend to become wedded to one-sided estimates and frozen positions, and the realities of political life become distorted.

"What is, he sees as in a dream,

"What no longer is, becomes for him reality."

It might be helpful if there was a restatement of Marxist truisms, in order to establish what, if any, longstanding problems are being reflected in our current struggle.

It was Marx and Lenin who insisted that the primary role of Communists was to guarantee the union of the labor movement with Marxist theory. This fusion cannot take place, and we cannot play a vanguard role, unless we utilize Marxist analysis to define and analyze each particular period of the class struggle, and draw new theoretical conclusions from the realities of the material world.

An equally obvious truth is that we cannot test the correctness of that analysis in an ivory tower; the verification or modification of our estimates takes place in the arena of class struggle. Without this approach, we cannot participate in developing the forms of struggle necessary for a given situation, nor relate the current phases of struggle to our goal of socialism.

The history of working-class parties documents the dialectical contradiction always present—how to participate in daily mass struggles while advancing the struggle for socialism. Communist Parties must always deal with the two dangers: abandoning the mass character of the party, or abandoning its final aim—either falling into reformism or sectarianism. When the party loses its mass character and cannot speak to nor influence the mass movements, it becomes a sect; when it loses itself in the daily struggles as ends in themselves, it becomes a movement of social reform.

These are generalizations which have had much validity in all countries. An examination of our own history would show our inability at various times to have sufficiently reckoned with this inherent dialectical contradiction. In addition to these general factors, our 16th convention gave these specific reasons for the party crisis:

"The Marxist movement in our country has suffered historically from dogmatic application of Marxist theory to the American scene. The Communist Party inherited these weaknesses. Insufficient development of the independent theoretical work of our party over the past decades, has contributed toward our doctrinaire acceptance and mechanical application of many theoretical propositions.

"Our party has suffered from an oversimplified approach to, and an uncritical acceptance of, many views of Marxists and Marxist Parties in other countries.

"Bureaucratic methods of leadership, failure to develop inner-party democracy, and frequently intolerant attitudes to the people we worked with, have been in large measure responsible for our inability to correct mistakes in time, as well as for much of our sectarianism. All these factors are interrelated; each helped to reinforce the other."

It is 1 year since our 16th convention. Have we had a leadership that has fulfilled its responsibilities in taking even the first steps in providing a political line that guards against the generalized two dangers mentioned above, and against the concrete errors specified at our convention? A scrutiny of the last year would indicate that this has not taken place. But we have succeeded in vulgarizing a complex problem with the oversimplified definition of "right" and "left" trends.

There are comrades who say that the main danger is revisionism, and then demand: "Let's get down to work, and let the theoretical questions wait"—but this approach has frequently been the foundation for reformism; it has been the slogan of the revisionists.

Gene Dennis correctly attacked this approach in 1945, in analyzing the Browder period. He said then, " * * * We were reacting to certain events * * * piecemeal, in an isolated and limited way; and without political visions." In 1945 he emphasized that theory must serve as a guide to action.

Our district has attempted to provide leadership on some political fronts of immediate concern to the welfare of the people. The H-bomb campaign; Little Rock and the South in general; the struggle for Negro rights; the 1958 elections; the antilabor drive in California, were among the questions discussed at the district council, with concrete program proposed to the clubs for action. But we recognized that the main answer to our crisis was not to "get busy"; our crisis did not result from the fact that we were not "busy" enough in previous years—it is, in the first place, an ideological crisis.

Why do I believe that we have vulgarized our problems with the oversimplified definitions of "right and left dangers"? An answer to this is provided by the contradiction in Comrade James Jackson's report on the South. He gave important data on the transition which is taking place there, as well as political emphasis on the need for Negro-labor unity. Lacking from his report is any basic estimate as to the character and ideology of the Negro people's movement, as well as any basic analysis as to what is new in it; namely the fusion of the traditional cultural expression of the Negro people (traditions and institutions of the Church) with the modified ideology of Thoreau and Gandhi.

In classic Marxist language, this lack of analysis would be defined as opportunism, yet it comes from a comrade who has identified himself generally with the "left." It is an example of why Lenin considered opportunism and sectarianism as opposite sides of the same coin.

One of the reasons for our inability to develop Marxist critique was our past misuse of this weapon. When we were critical of labor or Negro leaders in the past, we automatically translated this into oppositionist tactics—our criticism became a program for a one-sided attack on them. A Marxist critique (e. g. a critical, many-sided analysis) should assist the struggle, not attack it, and is an important expression of our vanguard role.

Comrade Dennis has advanced the theory that in order to prepare a program, it is necessary to first accept (and not even question) the universal validity of specific concepts projected by our comrades in the Socialist countries. It may well be that after examination and debate, most Communists will agree on their validity and application to the United States. But how can a comrade carry through the 16th convention warning against " * * * the oversimplified approach to and uncritical acceptance of views of Marxists in other countries," if he insists on the acceptance of their views, without debate or question?

A Marxist-Leninist party might well remember Lenin's warning:

"Nothing is more foreign to the dialectic method of Marxist thought than to separate social phenomena from their historic soil, and to present these phenomena as abstract formulae having an absolute general application."

Comrade Dennis might argue, "But I did not say anything about application of the universally valid truths, only their acceptance as general truths." But until and unless one discusses application, it is meaningless to talk about an abstract truth.

Why is application so important? The 12-party statement declares that one or another form of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a universally valid truth. Do we Communists apply Marxism-Leninism to the American scene by simply

repeating this, or do we have to give consideration to the phrase, "one or another form"? When for example, we discuss the capitalist state, we know that bourgeois democracy and fascism are "one or another form" of capitalist rule—but what a whale of a difference it makes to the working class which form it is.

There are theoretical questions of great significance in the 12-party statement. As one additional example:

"The working class can then defeat the reactionary antipopular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people."

In other words, it is no longer necessary to regard as a universally valid principle Lenin's conclusions that the working class must "shatter" the instruments of bourgeois rule, the bourgeois state forms.

I would applaud our comrade's willingness to analyze the realities of the material world of today and advance new theory, even when it disputes previous theoretical propositions. But what kind of Marxism-Leninism is it which calls for automatic endorsement of such a concept, without the most extended theoretical discussion?

Because our past sectarianism led us to distort the application of Marxist criticism, we have great difficulty in searching for a balanced expression of proletarian internationalism, particularly as applied toward the Soviet Union.

Comrade James Allen's report in Political Affairs on the international situation, suffers from an inability to deal with questions of foreign policy relating to the Soviet Union in anything except the language and approach common to all of us before the 20th congress and the 16th national convention. Does it equip us to understand the role of the Soviet Union in the Mideast? Does it help us to understand if there is any difference between what the Soviet Union does diplomatically (as a government) and our role and estimates as a party in the United States? Or does it continue to do what Ducloux criticized us for in 1945, the automatic translating of diplomatic actions into ideological and political programs for the party?

Many comrades cannot visualize being both pro-Soviet and critical. Every attempt to critically examine the history and present status of the Soviet Union is considered "anti-Soviet." It is true that after the 20th congress, some believed that if you did not have perfection in the Soviet Union, you could not have socialism. But the opposite is also present—many believe that if you do not think there is perfection in the Soviet Union, you are anti-Soviet per se.

The CPSU, in the 20th congress, said that their policy in 1947 toward Turkey had not been always correct. In 1957, when they removed Molotov, Shepilov, and Kaganovich, and later Zhukov, they said that among other reasons for their removal, was the charge that they had followed an "adventurous" foreign policy. Yet there are some comrades who believe either that a Socialist country cannot make mistakes in foreign policy, or that one can say so only after they are self-admitted. As a matter of fact, even after the CPSU admits mistakes, we have comrades who consider it "anti-Soviet" to repeat the fact of the mistake, or try to analyze it.

Distorted, one-sided approaches toward the Soviet Union result in making it appear that debates on the Soviet Union are composed of—

A. Of comrades who would spend their lives criticizing some other country's revolution, to the exclusion of solving the task of winning the workers of their own nation to socialist consciousness; or,

B. Of comrades who would spend their lives defending another country's revolution to the exclusion of solving the tasks in their own country.

The "unity" of the extremes is once more displayed—it doesn't make much difference if you slash your left wrist or your right wrist; you can still bleed to death as a result.

The convention resolution stated that right-opportunism is encouraged by dogmatism and sectarianism. Because some national leaders continued to duck the problem posed by the resolution, the Daily Worker on some occasions tended toward a one-sided and provocative approach toward the Soviet Union. This, too, did not prove helpful in trying to establish how to be critical in a partisan manner. When Johnny Gates left the party, the New York Times reported that he said there was no political democracy in the Soviet Union, but that in the United States we can elect our representatives, have free speech, etc.

We may be critical of the time-lag between the socialist economy and its reflection in the socialist superstructure of the state, the institutions, etc. But that is no reason to replace a Marxian analysis with one that speaks admiringly of the

"equal freedom of the rich and the poor to sleep under a bridge," which to a great extent, is the content of our "free" elections.

G. D. H. Cole, eminent British Marxist, who is very "respectable" and "acceptable," says about the Soviet Union:

"Socialism is no guaranty of a perfect society. Common ownership of the means of production * * * can coexist with grave faults in political and cultural affairs. They are not even guaranties of democracy, though they are conditions of its full effectiveness and valuable soil for its growth. * * * The ruling consideration for us * * * is that the Soviet Union is, by virtue of its basic economic and cultural institutions, a socialist country and therefore necessarily the principal rallying point for the forces of socialism throughout the world."

The 16th convention tried to guard against the danger of the sect and the danger of the reformist movement. It developed an initial approach on how to explore the new, without automatically throwing everything "old" out. In a preliminary manner, it tried to utilize Engel's own definition of Marxism as "the exposition of a process of evolution." But because the "habits of the past" are our main adversary, every attempt to examine the realities of the American scene is met with the charge of revisionism.

Why all the sound and fury of Comrade Foster's attack on Alex Bittelman? One does not have to agree with all of Bittelman's conclusions (and I, for one, do not), to appreciate what he is doing.

The 20th congress stated that as a result of socialism developing into a world system, and with the increased importance of the role played by the neutralist countries, war is no longer inevitable. Fine. We repeated this as being true. But one cannot state this without attempting to deal with the corollary: If you can put a straitjacket on imperialism, what happens to its contradictions? What new forms will the uneven development of capitalism take?

Bittelman is the first comrade who advanced a systematic exposition of this question. If, instead of his ferocious attack, Foster and those who agree with him, had tried to tackle this problem, there might have been a diminution of the party crisis, rather than its acceleration.

The logic of this kind of attack is clear: First, Gates is identified as the "main danger." Then, anyone who fails to agree that he is the main danger, or wants to fight the ideology but not the man, is a conciliationist, and then graduates to become a new "main danger consuming the party." Next, anyone who has the effrontery to dare go beyond what is already "safe" to say on theoretical questions, becomes the new, "new main danger."

But don't think the attack can be contained within these limits. As more and more comrades leave the party, the sixth world congress devotees, who want a return to defining social democrats as social fascists, and who want the sole emphasis again on united front from below, become both stronger and bolder. Now, while praising Foster for continuing his attack on revisionism, they attack him for his revisionism in agreeing that left errors were committed in the last decade!

The tragic farce will play on, and ultimately, at the drop of a new thought, the so-called "left" and "center" forces will find themselves either forced to accept the "line of these people" or else be in the "prisoners dock" themselves.

Comrades like Dennis, Thompson, Jackson et al. might well remember Stalin's warning: "There is a logic in events which goes beyond the logic of human intentions."

You may deride the comrades who are leaving the party as confused, or weak, or disorientated, etc., but you can ultimately be consumed by your present allies.

Every time another comrade who wants "change" to guarantee the party as a more meaningful instrument for winning Americans to socialism, leaves our party, he is helping to prevent change from taking place. Nothing develops in a vacuum, and to find the new approaches and the new theory, requires both the determination and discipline to "remake" ourselves as Communists, and a developing of the party as a collective channel through which this process is developed. There are comrades who would give their lives for the cause of socialism, but who cannot (say: will not) change their lives in order to guarantee that the party of socialism becomes an organization that can influence the American working class.

Those who so sweepingly have proclaimed, "The party cannot change, there is no future for it," distort Marxism as much as the dogmatists. Did anyone seriously believe that the party could change overnight? Did anyone believe it

could change without the most extended struggle " * * * against our main adversary—the habits of the past" (Gramsci)?

Without a perspective of an extended period of ideological struggle (yes, "peaceful coexistence" for the body of each comrade and sharpened debate for the mind), neither we nor the party can participate with others in finding some answers for the todays and the tomorrows.

I am a part of the national leadership and I do not disclaim responsibility for the present morass. I, and others, have been so preoccupied with fending off the offensive of those who would destroy the convention's estimates and perspectives, without even giving the party a decent opportunity to apply them, that I failed to participate in helping to advance the initial approaches of the convention.

It is not enough to shout a warning that the theft of the convention resolution is taking place. Sufficient objectivity and disengagement from the furious struggle to "protect" the 16th convention must include the further exposition of the convention's line in order to prove in life what and who is right or wrong.

We are paying a bitter penalty for our past failure in involving the membership in discussion on basic line and policy. Clubs were told their job was to carry out policy; the sole emphasis on "bringing down the line" was how to apply it—rarely, to debate it. As a result, there is great confusion when the debates in national bodies are presented.

In the preconvention period, everyone united in criticizing the leadership for failing to report on past differences in the leading committees. Today, many are unhappy at hearing such reports. They say, "Leave the national debates back in New York, and let's discuss only our local problems." But ours is a national party, and one area or another cannot solve its problems by hiding the nature and content of the status of the national party.

Further, unless comrades know what positions are taken on particular problems, how can they estimate which comrades should be continued in leadership? How can they tell which comrades make any effort to combat bureaucracy or carry out the decisions of the convention?

Yes, we agree, it is distracting and confusing and unpleasant to deal with what seems faraway problems. But if we want to check the crisis, we cannot evade the grim duty of facing the content of the present problems.

If subjective and factionalist reactions were laid aside, I do not believe that anyone would seriously claim that in the last year we have won the fight against dogmatism and sectarianism. Nor do I believe that anyone would contend that we have built-in safeguards against right opportunism.

"We cannot secure ourselves in advance against all possibilities of opportunist deviations. Such dangers can be overcome only in the course of the movement itself, utilizing Marxist theory, but only after the dangers in question have taken tangible form."

When Lenin wrote "Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder," he did not cross himself on each page and say, "And I'm against opportunism too." He tried to guard against opportunism in the method and line he advanced in fighting leftism.

Perhaps the saddest line in Khrushchev's revelations on Stalin was that Stalin thought he acted in the interests of socialism. I suppose each of us is positive of the "purity" of our intentions and the fiendishness of the other's intent. But where, oh where is that comrade, or group of comrades, who has been so infallible in the past, that would allow for the continuing arrogance so present today?

Our party must be a channel through which contending viewpoints can be presented. It should encourage the widest utilization of every form to provide for the clarification of ideas. It should provide for collective examination of the work of Communists in mass activity, in order to learn and in turn teach how to fuse the daily struggles with socialist ideology.

"If a book be false in its facts, disprove them; if false in its reasoning, refute it. But for God's sake, let us freely hear both sides," says Thomas Jefferson. John Milton put it, "And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, so misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter." Mao Tse-Tung says, " * * * let a hundred flowers blossom; let all the schools contend. * * * " These too, are universally valid truths!

EXHIBIT XIII

RESOLUTION ON THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

PROPOSITION I

The American nation of the United States is a historically derived, national formation; an amalgam of more or less well-differentiated nationalities. The Negro people are the most severely oppressed and all-sidedly exploited of all the peoples who make up the American nation of the United States.

The Negro people of the United States are not constituted as a separately developed nation. Rather, their characteristics are that of a racially distinctive people or nationality who are a historically determined component of the American nation of the United States.

Though deprived of her just and equal rights and freedom to fully participate in all aspects of the affairs of the nation, the Negro people nonetheless have contributed to and have an inseparable stake in (no less than the other, nationality components) the American nation's common territory, economic life, language, culture, and psychological makeup.

The Negro question in the United States is a "national question;" it is one of the many varieties of the national question embraced by Marxist science. (See Document * p. 11, top half p. 12.)

"The struggles of the Negro people and the resultant significant advances inspire Negro Americans with a new quality of self-confidence. A profound spirit of national consciousness and pride in their racial identification permeates the Negro people of the United States today. It fires their determination to build ever closer their unity in order to wage the struggle even more militantly to break down all barriers to their exercise of any and all political, economic, and social rights enjoyed by any other citizens."

Negroes unite *not* in order to separate themselves from the political, economic, or social life of our country. They unite to more effectively employ the strength of their own numbers and weight of their alliance with other parts of the population to level the barriers to their fullest integration into all aspects of the economic, political, and social life of the American people as a whole. *They are forging an internal national unity to facilitate their struggle for full integration as free and equal American citizens.*" (Convention Resolution p. 44.)

PROPOSITION II

In applying the classic Leninist definition of the factors making up a nation (see Document p. 14, par. 3), two such elements must be re-examined in the light of fundamental changes that continue to develop. First, the element of a "stable community."

Capitalist development in the United States, particularly since 1930, assails the stability of communities. The American population, taken as a whole, is the most mobile, (i. e., the least "stable") population in the world. This is no less true of the American Negro people, whose position in 1930 was essentially that of an oppressed, land-bound peasantry, and has today become essentially an oppressed urban working people. This has resulted in a major alteration in the geographical distribution of the Negro people.

As has been historically true, the laws of capitalist development in America continue to register profound transformations on the various class strata of the Negro people. As a consequence, the relative weight of the peasant class-component of the Negro people has been decisively reduced and the relative weight of the working-class strata decisively increased. The scientific conclusion to be drawn from this objective fact is: the Negro national question in the United States is no longer "essentially a peasant question;" the peasantry is no longer the basic class-component of the Negro people, but today its basic class-component is the working class.

This transformation in the absolute and relative weight of the basic class forces of the Negro people's movement is no more reversible than are the objective laws of development of the system which created these transformations. (See Doc. p. 15, pars. 1 and 2; p. 21.)

Secondly: the element of "common psychological make-up."

* The "Document" refers to the report: "New Features of the Negro Question in the United States" Jim Jackson, which is the basis for this resolution.

Taking into full account all that is distinctive in this feature of the nation-like development of the Negro people, nevertheless, this is not determinative for either the solution or representation of the Negro question in the United States. The main currents of Negro thought and leadership in the struggle for advancement and freedom, historically, and universally at the present time, have projected their programs from the premise that Negroes individually and as a people are no less Americans than any other claimants. Only in describing the dimensions of their oppression have the Negro people represented themselves as a people apart from the American nation.

PROPOSITION III

These variants in the essential prerequisite features of nationhood (as described in Proposition II) compel the conclusion: the oppressed Negro people are not a nation and, therefore, the strategic concept expressed in the slogan: "the right to self-determination," which applies only to *nations*, is not a valid, workable, scientific slogan for the emancipation of the Negro people in America.

The Negro question in the United States remains a "national question" by definition as stated in Proposition I.

The Negro question in the United States remains a *special* question, commanding the attention of the working class and all forward looking sections of the American population, because "the Negro people are the most severely oppressed and all-sidedly exploited of all the peoples who make up the American nation," and because the basic material conditions for their emancipation, and for the social emancipation of the American working-class has been prepared by the continuing massive urbanization of the oppressed Negro people. (See Document, p. 13.) It is also a special question because there can be no further basic advance for the working people of our country as a whole without the elimination from American political life of the traditional Dixiecrat enemies of Negro freedom.

PROPOSITION IV

The re-appraisal of the "self-determination" concept and slogan, requires its replacement by a strategic concept and slogan which expresses a more accurately scientific, workable solution to the Negro national question in the United States. Such a strategic objective and slogan must answer (as the "self-determination" slogan attempted to do) the very real problem of governmental power for the oppressed Negro majority population, coupled with radical agrarian reform, in what remains of the traditional areas of most-backward agrarian relations, intense poverty, and brutal landlord rule, in what is referred to as the "Black Belt" in the South.

The Communist Party program for the revitalization of Southern agriculture and radical alterations of production relations in the "black belt" remains sound. (See attached "Program in Regard to the Black Belt" by Jim Jackson.)

The programmatic outlook of the Communist Party on the Negro question has heretofore been expressed in summary form as:

"The Communist Party stands for the full economic, political, social and cultural equality for the Negro people, including the right to self-determination in the Black Belt."

It is recommended that in the future the Communist Party popularize its position in the following summary form:

"The Communist Party of the United States stands for the full equality of the Negro people; their inalienable right to a fully integrated participation in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of America, including the right to the guarantee of genuinely representative government in the South, with proportional representation, in the areas of Negro majority population."

PROPOSITION V

"The Negro people's movement is today a standard bearer in the struggle to open up the now restricted areas of democracy. It is the decisive strategic ally of the working class in the current struggles for liberty and livelihood and in all stages that lead to the subsequent achievement of the necessary fundamental transformation of American society from the present capitalist exploitative system to that of socialism.

"Now to combat the Labor-Negro alliance, through powerful mass struggles for Negro rights, is to lay the cornerstone for that broad anti-monopoly coalition of labor and the people's forces on which the progressive future of our country depends.

"This is the main uncompleted democratic task of our country, and its fulfillment will enormously advance the goals of the working-class and our entire nation" (excerpt from 16th National Convention Resolution pp. 44-45).

The fact that the scene of the Negro people's struggle unfolds within the bosom of American imperialism, and in direct and intimate association with the working class and popular struggles and is directed against the common class oppressor, feeds into the general stream of the historic working class cause of our time a powerful current which raises the torrential power of the whole cause of social advance for the people of our country. *"The question of Negro freedom, then, is the crucial domestic issue of the day, and is a factor of growing international consequence."*

PROPOSITION VI

The struggle against racism (white chauvinism) is in the first instance the struggle against its institutionalized forms, as represented in the all-sided system of segregation in the South, and its Northern extension in housing, jobs, etc.

In the course of unfolding broad popular struggles in support of the Negro freedom movement, against the segregation system, the harsh realities of this racist system in the South must become a knowledgeable part of the ideology of the American people as a whole, and in particular of the working class of our country.

The democracy loving forces of the American people can only come to fully appreciate the significance of the Negro freedom movement to them by gaining an increasingly deeper understanding of what segregation is; of its scope and depth of practice.

Politically, the segregationist leaders are the native Hitlers in the political life of our country; segregation imposes on the Negro family an economic standard of living that is 48 percent below that of the average white family, and upon the Negro children of America the penalty of dying 8 years sooner than a white child born the same day; segregation is the daily experience of insults and humiliation, the disrespect to the dignity of manhood and womanhood; segregation is the torture of the police-prison system; segregation, as the institutionalized form of racism, poisons the cultural wellsprings of our national life; it is the lies, distortions, and gross omissions which permeate the written history of our country; segregation threatens the physical destruction of the public school system in one whole region of our country; *segregation retards the unity of the toiling population of our country required for the promotion of the general welfare of the American people.*

Mass educational and explanatory work, developed in the course of struggle for concrete objectives in the desegregation battle, is made even more urgent, today, in the face of the flood of racist propaganda the Citizens Council groups are spreading nationally.

More and more, the nation-wide offensive against racist white chauvinism must find its reflection in the halls of the United States Congress and in the concrete actions of the Executive Department of the federal government. The honor and the democratic social progress of the American nation are at stake.

PROPOSITION VII

The Communist Party, the Party of Negro-white unity, must continue to build upon its accumulated credits among the people of our country, by boldly implementing the programmatic line which flows from our Party's estimate of Negro freedom struggle as *"the crucial domestic issue of the day, and a factor of growing international consequence"* (16th Convention Resolution).

Leadership in the struggle against racist "white chauvinism" continues to be a major responsibility for our Party, and especially our white comrades in their day-to-day contact with the white masses.

Negro Marxists have an indispensable role to play in the over-all strengthening of the Negro people's movement. American imperialism and its agents are quite sensitive to this fact.

The further development of the all-class unity of the Negro movement requiring the leadership of its working-class component; the deepening of its anti-imperialist ideological content, which at present is very weak; the strengthening of the Negro national movement's international ties, through the medium of personal contact and otherwise; the unfolding of a consistently correct tactical line in the day to day battles against the skilled enemies of Negro freedom; the conscious building up and training of its youth cadre for today and tomorrow's leadership of the movement; all of these are necessities which Negro Marxists can contribute immeasurably towards providing for the liberation movement.

This calls for their scientific contribution at all levels of the organized movement. Such a weight of responsibility cannot be fulfilled from any position except one of being *within the mainstream* of organized Negro life. Despite whatever obstacles and difficulties are placed in their way, by the enemies of Negro freedom, it is the *duty* of Marxists to find the path of entry and influence into the mainstream organized movements which constitute the all-class Negro liberation movement.

Development of an ideologically definable, accepted, Marxist-scientific trend in the Negro people's movement is a continuing obligation of our Negro comrades. This continues to require careful planning, flexibility in tactics and consistency of effort.

Negro Marxists must be second to none in their demonstrable knowledge of the history of the Negro freedom movement, and in their ability to apply the Marxist scientific method of analysis, in generalizing these rich experiences into a practical scientific theory and practice of Negro freedom struggle.

Applying the democratic organizational principle of collective work, the Communist Party, U. S. A. is dedicated to the discharge of its role as vanguard Party of the American working class, in the concrete task of mobilizing our class and nation to meet the new challenges presented by the dixie-crut-fascist menace to democracy and the new opportunities for mounting a nation-wide offensive, for the final and complete destruction of the Jim-Crow system in our country.

EXHIBIT XIV

NEW FEATURES OF THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

(By James E. Jackson, September 20, 1958) *me koe*

(NOTE.—This is in addition to the Article by James Jackson that appeared in the Political Affairs for October, 1958.)

(Issued by the Southern California District, Communist Party, C. P. U. S. A., 524 South Spring Street, Room 513, MAdison 8-3509; Los Angeles 13, California, October 2, 1958, on the theory of the Negro question in the United States)

The Negro people are the most severely oppressed and all-sidedly exploited of all the peoples who make up the American nation of the United States.

The Negroes in the United are not constituted as a separate nation. Rather, they have the characteristics of a racially distinctive people or nationality who are historically determined component part of the American nation of the United States. The American nation (of the United States, that is) is a historically derived national formation, an amalgam of more or less well differentiated nationalities.

Though deprived of her just and equal rights and freedom to full participate in all aspects of the affairs of the nation, the Negro people nonetheless have contributed to and have an inseparable stake in (no less than its other national components) the American nation's common territory, economic life, language, culture, and psychological make-up.

At the same time, compounded out of their singular historic experiences—from yesterday's slavery to today's aspirations and struggles for complete freedom—the Negro people retain special national features and nation-like characteristics which manifest themselves (among other ways) in a universal conception and consciousness of their identity as a distinctive "people" with a national will to attain a status in the life of the American nation free of all manner of oppression, social ostracism, economic discrimination, political inequality, enforced racial segregation or cultural retardation.

To conclude that the Negro people in the United States are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in the United States is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for its solution?

"An abstract presentation of the question of nationalism is of no use at all." These words from Lenin's famous letter of December 1922 on the "Question of Nationalities" represents the key to the Leninist approach to the Nation question. In establishing the theoretical representation of the Negro question in the United States from the Marxist standpoint, it is necessary to appreciate the scope of the national question in Marxist thought. Marxism on the national question is

concerned with the question of the liberation of the oppressed nation and the relationship of that cause to the liberation of the oppressed nation and the relationship of that cause to the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism in a given country and on a world scale. But this does not yet exhaust the scope of the national question. The national question exists in an infinite variety of forms and Marxist science provides guide lines for the theoretical representation and solution of each particular manifestation and formation of the national question. Within the scope of the national question, there is included not merely the question of the nation, but the question of national minorities, national and ethnic groups, national-ethnic minority questions and national-communal (religious) groups questions, etc. Marxism provides a guide to the characterization and developmental outlook for each of these manifestations of the national question.

It is first necessary to determine precisely the particular variety or type of national question one is confronted with. It is obligatory to examine the distinctive features of that question in its development (not in static terms) and in its actual and potential relationship to dominant historical development of a given time. In reference to the national question one must above all be guided by Lenin's admonition that no problem can be presented for practical solution if represented in isolation. The particular national question must be viewed and represented at all times in the context of its total relationships to the historical primary social forces. That is to say, it would be feckless exercise to present the Negro question in the United States divorced from the historical and social national and world influences and relationships which bear upon and in large measures decide the frame in which it can achieve resolution.

We were in error to limit our frame of reference in Marxist writings on the national question to that of the nation in seeking scientific guide lines to an analysis and representation of the Negro question in the United States. We incorrectly selected the universally valid Marxist principle of "self-determination for oppressed nations" as the primary category into which we sought to compress the Negro question in the United States. By selecting a Marxist principle which has unimpeachable validity in reference to the rights and logical course for development of oppressed nations, we logically were led to focus upon the distinctive nation-like features and characteristics of the Negro people as the thing of most exclusive importance in the Negro question in the United States. But no less importance in the life as well as history of the Negro people in the United States are the integral features and experiences, common history and aspirations OF THIS PEOPLE TO SECURE THEIR UNFETTERED IDENTIFICATION with, and inclusion in, the full rights and privileges of the American nation. (The Negro people being the most deprived and denied component part of that nation.)

It is not at all necessary to deny the fact that the Negro people in the area of their majority in the Deep South exhibit to one degree or another characteristics common to distinctive nations in order to establish the fact that such nation-like attributes are not determinative for either the solution or representation of the Negro question in the United States. Such characteristics cannot of themselves mark out the course of development and pathway to Negro freedom.

The path of development of the Negro people toward individual and "national" equality does not take the route of struggle for national independence and political-geographical sovereignty statehood. The Negro people in the United States historically, now, and most probably for the future, seek solution to its national question in struggle for securing equality of political, economic, and social status as a component part of that amalgam of nationalities which historically evolved into the American nation. This course of development is in conformation with the first law of Marxism that "mankind sets for itself only those tasks it can achieve." It corresponds to the sociological and economic forces operating objectively upon the course of development of the Negro people. These latter objective forces are centrifugal. They operate against the progressive build-up of closed areas of settlement on the country-side or in the towns (Black Belt). They correspond to the overbearing tendencies of industrial society to invade diffuse and amalgamated peoples and dislocate sectional and regional population. Furthermore, this course of development and outlook corresponds to the central political reality of our historic period that the solution of all democratic tasks is worked out in conformation with, and on the basis of, the primacy of the working class struggle to transform modern society into a socialist base—the key task in the gross solution of the overall problem of human oppression and exploitation. It places the struggle for the solution of the Negro question

in direct and strategic relationship to the movement and main social force—the working class—for progress in our age.

The relevance of the general principle of self-determination to the reality of the Negro people's status and outlook in the U.S. can be expressed as follows:

The right of a people—irrespective of their level of, or direction of development as a national entity—to act in concert, or in alliance with fraternal classes and peoples, under the direction of their own leadership, after the fashion they may choose, in pursuance of their own goal of freedom as they conceive and construe it to be at any given moment, is an inalienable democratic right of that people which can neither be acceded or withdrawn by any other power. In this sense, the right to self-determination is to the community what the right of freedom of conscience and freedom of political choice is to the individual.

SOME QUESTIONS

1. If the Negro people are not a nation, then how does one characterize their status in the United States? The Negro people in the United States suffer a special form of national-oppression. Nation in the sense that all class strata of the Negro people are subject to a common yoke of oppression and exploitation and social ostracism, are victims of social, economic, and political inequality. They are racially identified and set apart by racist laws and customs, social existence and by actual ethnic identifications.

2. If the characteristics of a nation which can be discerned or ascribed to the Negro community of the Deep South (Black Belt) are not the determining factors or indicators of the course of development of the Negro people, then what is their significance for the Negro people's freedom movement? That there are sizable areas of the country where the concentration of Negroes in the population is large or a majority is of great importance for the political struggle and economic and cultural development of the Negro people. These areas are bases where the Negro freedom movement can organize and assert the mass power of their numbers in struggle to secure political authority in proportion to their numerical strength in the population. Their favorable ratio in the population. Their favorable ratio in population allows for mutual aid and self-help, developments in the realm of advancing their economic well-being. Such areas of large Negro population allow for the continued development of the distinctive in American culture.

In general the large areas of the Negroes' concentrated numbers become the centers where mass actions of the Negro people are generated, the vortices of the Negro people's movement which draw into the freedom struggle Negroes everywhere. They represent the big wheels of the Negro people's struggle which move the whole.

3. What are the objective factors which operate and have operated against the development of the Negro people in the South as a nation? The accepted Leninist definition of a nation which Stalin so precisely formulated is that "A nation is an historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychologically make-up manifested in a community of culture." A key word in this definition is "stable." Capitalist development in the United States generates forces which assail the stability of communities. Two factors gave a certain durability for a time to the Black Belt area of Negro majority in the Deep South. One—the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the Negro people were attached to the land as sharecroppers, tenants, and impoverished farmers. Two—the racist barriers erected against Negro integration in the economic, political, and social life in the country.

As late as 1930, 70 percent of the Negro people were counted in this "peasant" category. The factor of a large land-bound ratio in the Negro community's total population gave that community a certain stability. But the demands of industrialization and the development of mechanization and technology in agriculture combined to command and expel the population from the country side into the cities. This process considerably shrunk the areas of Negro majority in the South and furthered the distribution of the Negro population at the expense of a "stable community on a common territory," until today there remains in the old area of Negro majority some five million Negroes of whom less than 40 percent are economically attached to the land. Two-thirds of the Negro people, however, make their homes in the South. The Negro people, therefore, are in the main an oppressed urban working people. Therefore, the decisive role in the solution of the Negro question falls to the working-class strata. The poor farm masses and their economic demands and struggles relative to the land question remain a most important component in the total cause of Negro freedom, but clearly does not

occupy the strategic position as of old, when the bulk of the Negro people were farmers.

Not only the operation of the elemental forces of economic changes have expelled and driven the Negro people from their paternal grounds but the improvements in the area of economic and cultural opportunity (wrested in long and fierce struggle on the part of the Negro people and their allies) opened attractive small doors of opportunity to Negroes, particularly in the non-Southern metropolises and the larger Southern cities.

In characterizing the Negro people in the Black Belt as a nation, we failed to properly plumb the import of that subjective attribute of nations which is one of the determining features, namely, "a common psychological make-up." If we had we would have more seriously inquired into the history of the Negro people's movement and freedom endeavor in our country and drawn the requisite conclusions. The main currents of Negro thought and leadership in the struggle for advancement and freedom historically and universally at the present time have projected their programs for Negro freedom from the premise that Negroes individually and as a people are no less Americans than any other claimants. They have sought to identify the aspirations of Negroes for freedom and equality of citizenship status with the broadest national interests of the country. They have not by choice sought a separate path of development in opposition to the main forward trends in American national life. The Negro people related their cause of abolition to the interests of national survival and democratic fulfillment prior to the Civil War. In the Civil War years the Negro people made their alliance with Federal authority against counter-revolutionary secessionism. Today, they invoke their constitutional rights as citizens of the United States in demands upon, and in alliance with, Federal authority against the tyranny of "state's rights" Southern governments. The red thread of strategic conception that runs through the whole history of the Negro freedom movement is that of amassing the maximum self-organization, unity and strength of the Negro people and allying its forces with the major progressive cause and developments in complementary struggle for full equal rights for the Negro people and progress for the nation. Only in describing the dimensions of their oppression have the Negro people represented themselves as a people apart from the American nation. Their whole struggle has been to secure their historically due and just recognition as Americans with all the accompanying prerequisites of such national identification.

It is true, of course, that objective being is not conditioned upon subjective recognition of one's status. A particular working class is the grave-digger of its capitalist class historically whether the workers are aware of this or not (sic) time or not. So if objective factors and the line of historical development were operating to enhance and foster the maturation of the national attribute of the Negro people and compound their features in nationhood, the Negro people would have a separate national destiny whether or not they manifested this consciousness. But the objective factors operating in relation to the Negro people in the United States are working not in the direction of national insularity or separate development of its nationhood but in the direction of the integration of the Negro people of all classes into the mainstream of American contemporary and historical development.

4. By not placing the Negro question as a question of an oppressed nation fighting for national-state sovereignty, are we thereby diminishing the revolutionary import of the Negro people's struggle in the United States? No. A special feature of the American road to socialism is revealed in the fact that the requisite preparations of the forces for effecting fundamental social change in the system necessitates the completion of the bourgeois-democratic norms of political, economic and social development for the South in general and the Negro people in particular. Furthermore, a condition for accomplishing the prerequisite unity of the American working class with its class allies for advanced social struggle is to level the main rails of the color bar. The struggle of the Negro people for the democratic goals of political, economic and social equality feeds into the general stream of the historic working-class cause of our time a powerful current which raises the torrential power of the whole cause of social advance. The elementary democratic demands of the Negro people can be met only at the expense of the monopolists and Dixiecrats, by strengthening the popular forces depriving the monopoly ruling circle of the means of political oppression and economic superprofits. The fact that the Negro people's struggle for freedom and equality unfolds *within* the United States in direct and intimate association with the working class and popular struggles, the fact that it is directed against the common class oppressor (the white monopolists and ruling circle) and not

through a compradore class of "native" agents, the fact that the scene of the Negro people's struggle unfolds within the bosom of American imperialism—on the main stage and not in a faraway land of insular holding of American imperialism—means that the full force of the least activity of this movement has its direct impact and consequences in challenge to the enemy and support to the broad forces of social progress.

Furthermore, the purging of white chauvinist and anti-Negro prejudices from the thought and attitudes of the white masses is a vital aspect of the subjective preparation of the working class for undertaking the leadership responsibility in the struggle for a higher form of social order—for socialism. It is the way the American working class is being educated in internationalism in the first instance. Lenin has written that:

"Internationalism on the part of oppressing, or 'great' nations as they are called (though they are great only in violence * * *) must consist not only in observing formal equality of nations, but in an inequality that would make up, as far as the oppressing nation—the great nations—is concerned, for the inequality which obtains in actual life. Whoever does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude to the national question * * *" (Lenin, op. cit.).

The true proletarian attitude to the national question Lenin stressed over and over again, consists of deeds performed to wipe out the inequalities and injustices suffered by the victims of national or racial oppression; in the struggle for full equality for the Negro people. As Lenin noted further:

"* * * nothing so much holds up the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity as national injustice; 'offended' nationals are not sensitive to anything so much as to the feeling of equality and the violation of that equality, if only through negligence or as a joke, to the violation of that equality by their proletarian comrades. That is why in this case it is better to overdo it in the way of flexibility and leniency towards the national minorities than underdo it. * * *"

A revitalized, strengthened and more democratic procedure of Constitutional government is the requisite form for the Negro people to secure their full freedom aims. Therefore, the Negro people's movement has a continuing partisan stake and vital interest in all of the general problems of the state structure, laws, etc., for this is the frame within which it makes its struggle for freedom. It is vitally affected by the nature of these general questions of States.

5. When we conclude that self-determination for the Negro nation in the Black belt is not a sound or applicable characterization of the course of development in the cause of Negro freedom and the solution of the Negro question in the United States, are we not saying, that the Negro people have voiced their right of self-determination and chosen integration? No. The Negro people have not had and do not now have the democratic means of deciding for or against a course of development as a nation. Developments beyond the will of the Negro people to determine—objective economic historical factors—have primarily conditioned the course and outlook of the development of and solution of the Negro national question in the United States. It is the reflection of these objective and material considerations and circumstances which find their expression in the articulated programs, outlook and conclusions as to the course that the movement for solution of the Negro question will take. The essential content and basic objective of the Negro people's struggle is to secure full and equal means of decision on all questions affecting them and the country's welfare, to secure the right to vote and be elected to office and to secure unfettered equality in all respects. These are the tools for decision for which the Negro people struggle now in order to be enabled to decide matters in their self-interest and in the national interest as is consistent with democratic requirements.

In regard to the Negro people's course of development and the land question. In the theoretical considerations of the solution of the Negro question in the United States, our Party has in the past put first stress on the land question. As a matter of fact, the first strategic consideration for the solution of the Negro question was projected in terms of securing to the landless Negro farmers land holdings at the expense of the plantation-owning landlord class and the land monopolists and banks. The thesis behind this approach was to the effect that by breaking up the plantation and turning the land over to the Negro farm toiler, it would be not only securing the means of economic sustenance and development to the Negro people but would also cut into the economic might of monopoly of U.S. imperialism. This approach had meaning in a situation where the bulk of the Negro people were economically exploited by and held in the grip of landlord capital,

when the largest numbers of Negroes were attached to the land. It cannot be viewed as the strategic approach to the solution of the Negro question today, when the emigration from agriculture has proceeded to such a point that less than 1.2 million Negroes are found to have any occupational relationship to the land. *The vast changes that have taken place in the class structure of the Negro people as a consequence of this occupational redistribution with the resulting general urbanization of the Negro people means that the strategic solution to the Negro question has to be worked out in terms of struggle primarily of an urban people against industrial monopoly.* It is in an overall sense a struggle for the industrial integration of the Negro people economically and their social-political integration. The strategic class force in the solution of the Negro question, therefore, becomes firmly identified as the working-class and the Negro component part thereof. This is not at all to say that the struggle of the Negro farmers for the land and for a higher standard of living and democratic rights as farmers, and the need for all democratic forces to struggle against the reactionary plantation system and farm trust, is not of great economic and even greater political importance—both, for the solution of the Negro question and for the general democratic reformation of the South. (For a programmatic treatment of this question of Land Reform, see *C. P. Southern Program*.)

In 1954 there were 1.1 million commercial farms in the South, or 11.3 percent less than in 1950. The value of the products sold on three out of five of these farms was less than \$2,500. (On farms outside of the South, the value of the products sold was less than \$2,500 in just one out of four farms.)

In 1954 the number of farm tenants in the United States was 1,167,885. In the South one out of three farm operators is a tenant. 577,021 of these tenant farms were in the South. (590,864 were in the rest of the U.S.) About 70 percent of all tenant farmers are Negro.

Distribution of tenant farmers in South

	1940	1954
Mississippi	192,819	99,919
North Carolina	123,476	98,819
Alabama	136,224	61,044
Georgia	129,859	58,221
Tennessee	99,735	52,939
South Carolina	77,184	50,012
Arkansas	116,442	48,763
Kentucky	33,824	40,689
Louisiana	89,167	37,895
Virginia	47,107	23,557
Florida	15,698	4,063

From data given on p. 98 of "Economics of the South," U.S. Department of Commerce.

6. Given a continuous development of the economic decline, is there a possibility of a significant return of Negroes into agriculture? No. The redistribution of the Negro population will not reverse itself. Before the war two-thirds of all American Negroes were Southern farmers and farm workers; only one-sixth are today. Now half of the Negro people are living in Southern cities, and one-third of the Negro people are living in Northern cities. The manpower needs of agriculture are in steady decline. As a result of big strides in technical progress, the agricultural sector of the economy produces quantities of food and raw materials in excess with a steadily decreasing number of workers and on a diminishing acreage. "From 25.1 million persons on farms in 1950, the total was down 20.4 million in 1957. Moreover, the recent drop in farm population from 22.3 million in 1956 (13.2 percent of the United States total) to 20.4 million in 1957 (11.9 percent of the United States total) sets a recent record both relatively and absolutely." For example, "The technology of growing cotton has been so perfected that the man hours required to grow a bale of cotton has dropped since 1930 from 260 hours to 108, and the average yield per acre has risen from 157 lbs. to 409 lbs. today. * * * Cotton culture is so successful and efficient that 17.5 million acres now yield more production (14,725,000 bales in 1955) than was grown on 43 million acres in 1930." Clearly the tendency in agriculture is one of progressively and rapidly expelling the population from the countryside with no margin for absorbing additional manpower.

In 1957, farm population was only 12 percent of the total United States population, compared with 23 percent in 1940.

REGARDING THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

The common objective of Negroes, wherever they may live in the United States, is to be free of discrimination. Negro Americans everywhere aspire to legal equality with their fellow white countrymen in the political, economic and cultural life of the country. The popular expression "to fight for Negro rights" is understood by the Negro people to mean the struggle for these general objectives.

To be able to realize these objectives it is required that the Negro people in the United States must secure their full rightful share of governmental power. In those urban and rural communities where they are the larger part of the population generally, and in the Deep South area of the historic American cradle-land of the Negro people particularly, they must constitute the *majority power* in government.

In its essence, therefore, the struggle for Negro rights is not a mere "civil rights" fight, it is a political struggle: a struggle for a just share of representation nationally; a struggle for majority rule in the localities where they are the dominant people in the population; a struggle for genuinely democratic representative government in the Southern States in particular and in the country as a whole.

At the heart of this political struggle for Negro rights at the present time is the fight for the ballot, for free and universal suffrage rights. Accompanying this central demand and limited only by the advances made in achieving full suffrage rights, is the fight for Negro representation. To register successes in this regard, certain things are required:

1. A mobilizing, activating and uniting—to the greatest possible extent, of the Negro people and their allies in support of a common campaign for extending the right to vote to all without any discrimination.

2. Maximum mobilization and unity of Negro voters in support of "unity" candidates committed to a program of equal rights for Negroes.

3. Mutual assistance pacts for political action; an ever solidifying alliance between the organized Negro suffrage movement and the Negro electorate on the one hand, with the organized labor movement and popular democratic rights and peace movement on the other.

The latter point, i. e., the linking of the particular struggle of the Negro people for Negro rights to the general struggle of labor for democratic advancement and peace, for the welfare of the country as a whole, is required for winning either immediate or long range successes. As a minority people in the country as a whole, victory of the Negro people is unthinkable except on the basis that the struggle is fought in alliance with the oppressed majority of the whole people, i. e., with the working class, the poor farmer masses, and the other strata victimized by the monopolists.

4. In order to unite the Negro people and to forge the alliance between the Negro people and organized labor for the struggle for Negro rights, it is necessary for the Negro workers to exercise the initiative and leadership.

5. To fulfill its historic role of the "leading force" in the freedom endeavors of the Negro people, the Negro workers must be fully organized alongside their fellow white workers in the mass organizations of their class, the trade unions.

6. To best facilitate all developments in advancing the struggle for Negro rights, the "vanguard," the Communists, should provide the most concrete leadership to its forces in (1) the trade unions and (2) in the Negro mass organizations. These are the primary mass channels through which the Negro masses and labor movement are reached and rallied into the fight for Negro rights.

- (a) For example, through the agency of the NAACP, almost all of the organized groups in Negro life may be reached, influenced and rallied to struggle—the Negro Voters Leagues, the Baptist and AME churches, the Federation of C. W. clubs, etc.

- (b) Likewise, through the trade unions Negro workers are able to reach and influence all progressive developments in the area of the general struggle for peace, democratic rights, economic opportunities and legislative and political action. They are able to place the struggle for Negro rights in this context of the general welfare of all peoples. They are the "bonds" which can make fast the alliance between the struggle of the Negro people for equality and an end to Jim Crow on the one hand and the struggle of the working masses (the majority of the American people) against reaction and oppression and for peace, democracy, and economic progress on the other hand.

Therefore, the specific agencies—above all others—for waging the struggle for Negro rights are, namely, the popular Negro mass organizations and the trade unions.

The immediate objective of the Negro freedom cause is:

1. To force the government and courts to make concessions toward the securing and enforcing of the equal rights of Negroes, against segregation and discrimination.
2. To force industries to drop barriers against the employment, training, and upgrading of Negroes.
3. To force landlords to yield concessions on the plantations and to better the lot of the working farmers.
4. To force public and private institutions to abandon one restrictive measure after another.
5. To secure effective representation in government at all levels.

The longer range goal is to secure complete equality of citizenship rights and opportunities for Negroes as a people, in measure no less than that obtaining for all other Americans.

What is the primary condition which will enable the Negro people to a greater or lesser degree to advance along this path, in keeping with objective circumstances?

The means for achieving this is not yet in the hands of the Negro masses. Therefore all effort must be bent toward securing the ballot and freeing the Negro masses from all the restraints of fraudulent voter-registration and election practices in the exercise of their right to vote and stand for election.

1. To win the ballot for, and organize and unite the bulk of a "bloc" of Negro voters—numbering about six million in the South, and about three million elsewhere in the country.

2. To effect in the localities and on a national scale agreements, pacts and alliances with organized labor, poor farmers and the progressive groupings of the popular white masses, for joint and/or united electoral action in behalf of common legislative measures and for the election of mutually congenial representatives to public bodies on a proportional basis.

Increasingly to achieve Negro People's unity and Negro people's-white working people's unity in and for the struggle for mutually advantageous democratic renovations.

A. Vital issues before Negro people's movement

1. Peace and anti-colonialism.

2. Anti-Dixiecratism.

3. Political Action:

(a) Right to vote.

(b) Representation.

(c) Legislative issue fights—Federal, State & Local issues—Ex. "Section III" Civil Rights Amendment, etc., etc.

4. For civil rights and against government and police terror.

5. Economic front:

(a) Against job discrimination

(b) organizing the unorganized.

(c) For decent housing versus slums etc.

(d) For a program of land reform and farmer-assistance.

6. Defense of civil liberties, or fighters for Negro rights, including the Communists.

B. Urgent tasks in re the Negro people's movement

I. Enhance activity of organized Negro workers within the trade unions: (1) for the fight against job discrimination; (2) for organizing the unorganized Southern workers of factory and farm, (3) for independent labor political action and against vote barriers, (4) for the labor unions' championing of the concrete demands of Negro rights, (5) strengthen presence and activity of left forces in the trade unions.

II. Develop the work of progressive forces within the NAACP and other Negro mass organizations: (1) Further promote unity activities of NAACP, etc., (2) Extend organization into the rurals; (3) Enhance Workers' participation and leadership in organizations; (4) secure maximum participation of left forces in these organizations; (5) Enhance participation of youth.

III. Sharpen struggle vs. Trotskyism, social democratism, reformism and opportunism in tactics and policies in trade unions and NAACP—*skillfully, in united front fashion with proper regard for relation of class forces in org.*

IV. Entering the right-to-vote and Negro representation movements via the trade unions and the mass Negro organizations; the left forces should strive for these movements to pursue:

(a) mass pressure tactics of mobilizing maximum strength of Negro people, the trade unions and white democratic forces in support of its demands.

(b) pursue *principled coalition arrangements* for legislative measures and electoral struggles, allying with trade union bodies, farmers organizations and democratic white popular forces on the basis of mutual interest and advantages and oppose all opportunist deals with reactionary politicians. To advance for election those Negro candidates who enjoy the confidence of the Negro masses.

We list here the issues which masses of Southern Negroes are already engaged in, or prepared to engage in struggle for through *their existing* organizations; issues which hundreds of thousands of whites are prepared to support through their existing organizations:

1. Universal, equal, direct ballot rights with a full measure of representation in public and elected office.

2. An end to segregation in education.

3. An end to segregation in transportation.

4. An end to segregation in public parks and libraries.

5. An end to segregation in hospitals.

6. R.E.P. and an end to job discrimination.

7. An end to police brutality and for Federal action against White Citizens Councils and KKK.

(In addition, local—sometimes national—"Issues of opportunity.")

BRIEF NOTE ON APPROACH FOR DEVELOPING CONCRETENESS IN LEADERSHIP

1. Accompany each point regarding objective with an exposition of method tactics to be used.

2. Treat each point in three ways (a) the situation as it is; (b) the limited objective, and (c) the long-range goal.

3. Make clear (1) the *leading*, (2) the *main*, and (3) the *auxiliary supporting* forces on which we must rely at each stage.

4. Make clear upon whom the main blows must be rained at each stage and the *single key task* and objective for each stage.

IN SUMMARY

The goal of the Negro Rights Cause is to secure legal and actual equality in the areas of—

Political freedom.

Economic opportunities.

Cultural life in any and every urban and rural community of the United States.

I. What fundamentally is the ultimate means for securing these Rights?

Determining political authority in the command of the Negro people in all those localities wherein they constitute the majority population; and proportional or maximum representation in all levels of government, public services and public institutions everywhere in the country.

II. What are the *conditions* for gaining such means?

1. Organization of Negro workers in *class unity with whites*.

2. Organization of Negro poor farmers—in *class unity with whites*.

3. Relying on Negro workers to forge maximum unity of Negro people.

4. Forge strategic permanent alliance of Negro people with proletariat and poorest farmers and agricultural workers.

5. Cultivate bonds of mutual support and solidarity with popular movements for peace and democratic rights.

6. Build C. P. among Negro masses. By so doing, by working on *all* and *each one* of these simultaneously and not *sporadically*.

III. What are the methods for realizing the conditions, for securing the means for achieving "Negro rights?"

A. United Front tactics for Negro people's unity: 1. Concentrating Negro workers in first instance.

B. United Front tactics for promoting Negro-white unity.

C. Concentrating, focusing main efforts on selected key and decisive issues, namely:

1. Full suffrage rights.

2. FEP.

3. Organization of unorganized Negro men and women workers of city and countryside.

4. World peace.

—And other issues of opportunity which enjoy broad support, i.e.:

1. Freedom for Africa.

2. Abolish Jim Crow schools.

3. Abolish Jim Crow in transportation.

D. Quantitatively and qualitatively strengthen Party and hence Negro people's leadership: To fight effectively for this objective the leading forces of the Negro liberation movement must be located within and be solidly based upon: (1) the Negro and white workers organized in their trade unions, (2) organized bodies of the mass of landless, poor and middle Negro and white farmers, and (3) all the democratic-minded strata of the Negro people found in, gravitate around or who are influenced by the NAACP.

While the essential character of the Negro people's movement for democratic rights and national equality is a political struggle for adequate governmental power and representation in government in order to enact, enforce and defend the freedom and equality demands of the Negro people, it is also a fact that economic struggles and popular manifestations can compel changes in practices and treatment long before they are given expression in law.

EXHIBIT No. XV

REPORT OF EUGENE DENNIS TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, CPUSA, JUNE 28, 1958.

I wish to deal with some aspects of the international situation and the struggle for peace.

In our country, as in other lands, there is considerable alarm regarding the latest turn of events in France and the sharp reemergence of the Yugoslav question in international affairs. The war clouds over Lebanon and the anti-Soviet campaign being whipped up around Nagy is also cause for deep concern.

Likewise the possibility that the preparations for a summit conference may be torpedoed is creating wide apprehension everywhere. And the question is now being posed in some quarters as to whether or not these developments signify that the possibilities and grand perspectives for averting war and promoting peaceful coexistence—which were signaled at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and by our 16th national convention—are diminishing, if not being canceled out.

These are serious, in fact life and death, questions. Hence the significance of each event and issue needs to be examined and weighed in the light of the overall relationship of forces and the main trend in world developments. Toward this end, I would like to address my remarks, fragmentary and inadequate as they may be.

* * *

First, a few observations about the grave turn of events in France. A basic analysis of these is contained in Comrade Stachel's article in the Worker of June 8, which embodies the views of the NEC; and in the perceptive interview with Comrade Jacques Duclos which appeared in the Worker of June 15.

The 200 families of France—counterparts and allies of the Rockefellers and Du Ponts, the Thyssens, and Krupps—are seeking a Fascist-military solution of the profound political, financial, and economic crisis into which France has been plunged as a result of the protracted and disastrous colonial wars waged in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Indochina, and because of the intolerable burdens which the NATO policy of war preparations and poverty have inflicted on the French nation.

A reactionary, authoritarian Government headed by De Gaulle has been imposed on France by treachery and violence following the recent military putsch in Algeria and the threat of a military coup d'état in France. This new Government is supported by a part of the leadership of the Socialist Party and the Radical Socialists, and by all the forces of reaction in France and Algeria, including the most chauvinist and Fascist circles.

But an examination of the situation also shows that while the danger of fascism in France is exceedingly grave and imminent—*fascism has not yet triumphed*. As Comrade Duclos notes: While the "powerful demonstrations in Paris and the provinces, the strikes and other activities of all kinds which multiplied in the recent period were not able to prevent the coming of personal power," nonetheless "the events did not unfold entirely according to the plans conceived by the seditious elements," and the CP of France succeeded in alerting the working class and the nation in good time, thus creating the conditions allowing the people to mobilize for the defense of the Republic.

Since the investiture of De Gaulle there is developing, under the intrepid leadership of the great CP of France, a powerful national front of resistance and a growing unity of action of Communists, Socialists, Catholics, and Republicans to save the French Republic, to defend democracy and to end the brutal war of colonial repression in Algeria. All of these developments bear out the prognosis of Comrade Duclos who emphasizes that despite all difficulties "the social and political forces exist in France to bar the road to fascism and to check the exercise of personal power."

Undoubtedly the course of the struggle in France and in Algeria in the next months, coupled with certain international factors, will determine which way France goes in the immediate period ahead. Judging by the course of developments thus far, there are grounds for concluding that: (1) Notwithstanding all obstacles, the people of France who, thanks to the CPF, prevented the De Gaulles, the Cagoulauds, and the ultra colonialists from achieving their full objective a month ago, are now in a position to exert greater influence on the course of events in the next round of struggle; (2) De Gaulle's proposals for "integration" will not solve but only aggravate the situation in Algeria, and the national liberation struggle will continue; (3) Despite Washington's maneuvers and its efforts to woo De Gaulle, the contradictions between American and French imperialism are bound to sharpen—both in relation to the struggle for control over north Africa and in respect to NATO and the rearming of West Germany.

Clearly the fate of the French Republic and French democracy, and the cause of national independence in Algeria, is the vital concern of the American people and all progressive humanity. A victory for fascism in France would jeopardize the peace and security of Europe and spread the "dirty" war in Algeria to Tunisia and beyond, with fateful consequences for world peace.

Certainly we Communists, together with other anti-Fascists, must find the ways and means to alert wider sectors of the American labor and people's movements to their stake in the momentous struggles in France and Algeria, and to express their solidarity with the French and Algerian peoples.

Likewise the events in France must be utilized to once again drive home to the American left and other democratic Americans a number of historic lessons: (1) Anywhere where the policies of anticommunism gain currency the people pay a big and costly price; (2) in France and elsewhere it is not the Communists but the forces of reaction and fascism which seek to destroy the parliamentary system and democratic rights; (3) while there is a welcome and promising process of differentiation taking place in the ranks of social democracy in France and in certain other countries, nonetheless the role of social democratism continues to be that of opening the road to extreme reaction; and (4) in France, as elsewhere, the Communist Party as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class is the staunchest and most effective leader and fighter for the best national interests of the people, for their democratic rights, freedom, and national security, as well as for the realization of their Socialist aspirations.

* * *

The Yugoslav question has again come to the fore as a matter of international controversy and friction.

As is known, the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists rejected the fraternal criticism of the Communist and Workers Parties and adopted a program which departs basically from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in a number of instances. These include their estimate of the inter-

national situation, the two world social systems, and the source of the war danger; their analysis of the contemporary role of imperialism and the capitalist state; their views on the role of Marxist vanguard parties of the working class and the road to socialism, and on the generalized experiences of the international working class in the struggle for the victory of the Socialist revolution and Socialist construction.

The approach of our NEC to the revisionist program of the Yugoslavs is outlined in the digest of a report carried in the Worker on June 15. Here I would only note in passing that the Yugoslav leadership has repudiated the peace manifesto of the 64 Communist and Workers Parties which it had signed and the line of the 20th congress with which it had professed agreement. It falsely describes the two fundamentally different world social-economic systems as a "division of the world into two antagonistic military-political blocs." Not content with trying to "equate" the Socialist camp with the imperialist camp, Tito and company allege that this division was brought about primarily as the result of "the Stalinist foreign policy" of the U. S. S. R.

Further, the Yugoslav leaders assert that the capitalist state is "a regulator in the sphere of labor and property relations, of social rights and social services and other social relations" which tends increasingly "to restrict the role of private capital and deprive the owners of private capital of certain independent functions in the economy and in the society."

Little wonder then that the Yugoslavs gloss over the lessons of history, the experiences of the Socialist countries, deprecate the revolutionary role of the working class and its vanguard, and claim that "the swelling tide of state capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the obvious proof that mankind is indomitably moving into the era of socialism through a wide variety of different trends."

On the other hand, the Yugoslav program describes social ownership by the whole people, public ownership of the main means of production and distribution by the state in the Socialist countries as "state capitalism." It contends that inevitably this so-called "state capitalism" gives rise to "bureaucracy and bureaucratic statist deformities." In this manner the Yugoslav leaders attempt to smear the state power of working class and its allies and to glorify the capitalist state, the dictatorship of monopoly capital.

Obviously, the Yugoslav program is not an academic matter, not merely a subject for philosophical discussion and classroom debate. It is a theoretical program and a guide to action of a party that presently guides the destinies of a nation that started to build socialism. It is a program of action brought forward with the aim of splitting the international Communist movement, disrupting the solidarity of the Socialist countries and weakening the relations between the lands of socialism and the Bandung nations. It is, in short, a program that can benefit only imperialism, and American imperialism in the first place.

According to the program and the pronouncements of Tito and his colleagues, Yugoslavia is not allied with nor an adherent of the Socialist commonwealth of nations. This, unfortunately, is true. But it is also a fact that Yugoslavia is not "neutral" and does not stand "outside" the Socialist camp and the imperialist camp, as Tito claims.

There are a number of countries—although not Socialist, such as India, the United Arab Republic, and Indonesia—which have adopted a policy of neutrality which opposes war and colonialism and supports peace and national freedom. While striving to develop normal and peaceful relations with all countries, their stand for peaceful coexistence and their generally anti-imperialist course has brought them into close, friendly, and mutually beneficial relations with the Socialist countries. This strengthens the cause of peace, freedom, and progress.

But over the past decade the Yugoslav leadership, for the most part, has never been "neutral." Ever since 1948, and now with the adoption of its new program, Tito and company, except for a brief interlude in 1955, have always directed the spearhead of their attacks against the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and have sought to whitewash and extol American imperialism.

Tito and company were not neutral when the Yugoslav Government signed the Balkan Pact and entered into military agreements with Turkey and Greece—agreements which are still operative. Similarly, the Eisenhower administration, like its predecessor, was and is not neutral in extending over \$2 billion in aid and credits to Yugoslavia—nearly one-half of which has been grants in planes and other war material.

Tito and his coworkers were not neutral when they tried to fish in troubled waters of Poland and Hungary in the autumn of 1956. Or when they intervened in the counterrevolution in Hungary on the side of Nagy and the so-called

"workers councils." And they are not neutral today when they try to export to the East and the West their "new," "modern," and systematized version of revisionism, their program of "national communism."

If there were any doubts as to the real nature of Tito's brand of "neutrality" and present political role, suffice it to refer to the news dispatch from Belgrade published in the New York Times of June 16, 1958, reporting excerpts of a speech by Tito. In this speech Tito scurrilously accused the leaders of the Chinese People's Republic "with opposing any relaxation of East-West tensions, 'just as do warmongers in the West,'" and also maliciously charged, echoing Dulles and Knowland, that China's leadership "is counting on war to consolidate its rule in Asia."

As for the claim of the Yugoslav leaders that their reliance on United States foreign "aid" is consistent with Socialist principles, suffice it to note that there are a number of Socialist countries, including the U. S. S. R., which at times have sought or received loans and credits from various capitalist nations, as well as have entered into, or seek, extensive and mutually beneficial trade agreements with the West. This is part and parcel of the Socialist foreign policy of promoting peaceful coexistence, as well as of furthering the correlated Leninist principle of utilizing all contradictions in the camp of imperialism to strengthen the economy and positions of socialism.

However, the validity of this Leninist principle and policy has nothing in common with the present course of the Yugoslav leadership and its distorted application of this basic concept. For the Yugoslav leaders try to utilize the contradictions between the Socialist and the capitalist systems not to weaken imperialism but to foster dissension and rifts within the camp of socialism. They now seek and receive large grants of United States "assistance" as the price and reward for asserting their "independence" from and noncooperation with the Socialist camp. In the process they are deforming the line of Yugoslav social-economic development and are becoming increasingly dependent upon American loans and military "aid."

How timely and correct is the declaration of the 12 Communist and Workers Parties in emphasizing that revisionism is the main danger in the international Communist movement. How sound is the conclusion that the influences of bourgeois nationalism are the internal source of revisionism, while imperialist pressures and influences are its external source.

It is obvious that to wage a successful struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, as well as for socialism, it is necessary that our party and all adherents of Marxism and proletarian internationalism wage a resolute political and ideological struggle against the neorevisionism and the splitting tactics of the Yugoslavs and their American backers and counterparts. It is likewise necessary to couple this decisive struggle with a firm and systematic struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism.

In doing this, we, like the Communists of other lands, must seek to avoid the mistakes and excesses which were made in the period between 1948 and 1954, when the form of this struggle was erroneous and harmful. Although it is even clearer today that the 1948 estimate of the dangerous revisionist and bourgeois nationalist course of Tito and company was also valid at that time.

In this connection, it is worthy to note and most encouraging that the Communist Parties and the governments of the Socialist countries are pursuing a course of maintaining normal diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, while conducting an all-out ideological and political offensive to defeat revisionism and isolate its proponents. This increases our confidence that the heightened unity of the international Communist movement and the enhanced solidarity of the Socialist camp which were registered in the December 1957 meetings of the Communist and Workers Parties, and again in the recent conference of the members of the Warsaw Treaty in Moscow, will grow and prove invincible.

Whatever momentary difficulties the latest ventures of the Yugoslav leadership may create will be surmounted, and much more quickly than after 1948.

* * *

As is well-known, the recent announcement that several of the Hungarian ring leaders of the pro-Horthyite and CIO-inspired counter-revolutionary putsch in 1956 have either been executed or sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, has been seized upon as a cause célèbre by the State Department and the American delegation in the U. N. for inciting a new anti-Soviet and anti-Hungary campaign.

In the autumn of 1957 the loaded report of the U. N. Special Committee was seized upon as pretext for diverting public opinion from the tri-power aggression against Egypt, from the machinations of the architects of the Eisenhower doc-

trine in Jordan and Syria, and for counteracting the worldwide demand for East-West negotiations. So today, too, the question of Hungary is being raised again to divert world attention from the imperialist interference of the United States in Lebanon and Indonesia, and especially as a means of dynamiting the preparations for a heads-of-government conference.

Naturally, one's opinion as to whether or not the Nagys and Maleters should have been severely dealt with by the Hungarian Democratic Republic does *not* depend upon how one estimates the mistaken and harmful policies of Rakosi or Stalin at a certain period in the past. It depends, first of all, upon how one views the American-inspired counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary in the autumn of 1956, and upon one's class approach to justice.

As to whether the action taken against Nagy and company was timed in connection with the developments around Yugoslavia and as a stern warning that the lands of socialism, while correcting previous errors of policy and violations of Socialist legality, will not tolerate counterrevolution from revisionists or from any other apologists or accomplices of capitalism—this is a matter of judgment. But it is not a matter of conjecture that Nagy and Maleter were executed *not* for their ideas and beliefs, but for their direct and leading participation in an armed insurrection which tried to destroy the Hungarian Republic and socialism.

It is common knowledge that the State Department, which remains aloof and silent on Little Rock, repeatedly finds obstacles and "moral" justification for not negotiating with, or entering into agreement with, the working class governments of the Socialist countries. However, Washington finds no such difficulty and suffers no so-called moral pangs of conscience when it comes to negotiating with the heads of governments which bear the responsibility for the slaughter and repression of the freedom fighters in Kenya, Cyprus, and Algeria; in Taiwan, South Korea, and South Vietnam, in Cuba, Guatemala and Saipan.

One thing is clear: It is necessary to explain again and again what happened in Hungary in 1956, including the sinister role of the Dulles brothers. It is imperative to show that in the autumn of 1956 the most aggressive imperialist circles, headed by the United States, sought to take advantage of a period when the Socialist countries were in the midst of rectifying certain past mistakes and overcoming certain new problems of Socialist growth and cooperation. These reactionary forces instigated an armed uprising in Hungary, seeking to make a breach through Hungary and to divide and undermine the commonwealth of Socialist nations. But, as is well known, the Hungarian people with the fraternal and international help of the Soviet Union decisively defeated the intrigues and attacks of the imperialists and their agents and dupes.

It is also necessary to remind our fellow Americans of the special issue of Life magazine which inadvertently revealed how Nagy and company shared responsibility for the massacre of thousands of Communists, trade unionists, and Jews, and how they connived to transform the Hungarian Workers Republic into its opposite.

Above all, it is essential to hammer home to the American people that irrespective of differing views on the fate of a handful of anti-Socialist counterrevolutionists, *nothing* and *no one* should be allowed to interfere with the promotion of East-West negotiations to lessen world tensions and to avert an atomic war—a war in which *one single* H-bomb in the megaton category would have the destructive power of *all* the bombs dropped on Germany and Japan in World War II.

* * *

Next, a few observations on the progress of preparations for a summit conference.

Despite the overwhelming desire and hopes of the peoples of all nations for an early summit meeting, there is now great anxiety regarding the course of the diplomatic talks that were supposed to culminate before the end of the year in East-West negotiations at the top level.

The facts are that the State Department has thus far succeeded in delaying and thwarting headway leading toward talks at the summit. The prospects for an early conference are presently dim and uncertain.

It is well known that from the inception, starting from the Soviet proposal of last December and during the exchange of letters between Bulganin, Khrushchev, and Eisenhower in February and March, that Washington strongly opposed any and all initiatives for convening a top level East-West conference.

But the temper of world democratic opinion, the rising popular demand to halt the atomic arms race, influenced certain governments of the West to press for negotiations and compelled the Eisenhower administration to agree reluctantly to a Summit Conference—after "adequate preparations."

Following the historic decision of the U. S. S. R. to unilaterally suspend A- and H-bomb tests—plus the impact of the Polish plan to create an atoms free zone in Central Europe—the pressure for East-West talks mounted, especially as government spokesmen in India, Japan, Indonesia, Burma, and some of the Scandinavian countries declared that the time for banning nuclear tests and weapons was here and now.

From outright opposition and after later agreeing to preliminary talks at lower levels ostensibly to prepare exchanges at the top, Washington then resorted to a series of delaying actions to bog down and stymie a summit gathering. In rapid succession it proposed a preliminary conference of foreign ministers, then prior meetings of ambassadors, and later it insisted on exploratory and noncommittal talks of technical experts. At the same time, it insisted that prior agreements be reached on questions and areas which do not fall within the jurisdiction of a heads-of-government meeting, such as the internal affairs of the people's democracies and of Germany—questions around which fundamental and irreconcilable differences exist between East and West.

The U. S. S. R., despite well-founded misgivings, subsequently agreed to the procedures proposed by the West, making it clear however that the discussion and disposition of all substantive questions were the province of the projected meeting at the summit. It stressed that on its part the U. S. S. R. desired and proposed to search out a number of minimal questions around which East-West negotiations could result in limited, though important, agreements—i. e., the suspension of nuclear weapons tests; a universal declaration outlawing the use of A and H bombs; a reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces; the promotion of mutually advantageous trade, cultural, and scientific exchanges.

In the interim Dulles participated in the spring Conference of SEATO, where decisions were taken to step up aid to the counterrevolutionary uprising against Jakarta, as well as the NATO meeting at Copenhagen where efforts were made to convince the allies of the United States that East-West summit talks were futile and inadvisable and that it was imperative to expedite the establishment of United States-controlled missile-rocket sites on the territories of all the NATO Powers.

Following the public release 10 days ago of Khrushchev's latest letter to Eisenhower in which Khrushchev agreed to a meeting of technical experts for the specific purpose of working out an inspection system to enforce an agreed upon objective, *namely to suspend nuclear tests*, as well as the devious and stalling tactics adopted by the American, British, and French Ambassadors—and on the heels of the news from Hungary—Dulles stated that there are virtually no prospects nor any basis for convening a summit meeting this year. In any event, the preparations for a head-of-government meeting are now bogged down and stalemated.

What are the reasons why there is no real progress toward the summit?

Basically the answer is to be found in the fact that the most aggressive circles of American monopoly, spearheaded by the Rockefellers, du Ponts, and certain Morgan interests, have learned nothing and have forgotten nothing. Ignoring the verdict of history they provocatively, but futilely, pursue their quest for world domination. They seek a reactionary, imperialist solution of the current economic crisis and of the general crisis of world capitalism. They and their representatives in the administration and the Congress doggedly persist in the bankrupt "positions of strength" policy, even though from time to time they are forced to yield to diverse pressures and reluctantly enter into East-West negotiations and limited accords. They are hell-bent on continuing their cold-war program with its colossal military buildup, atomic and missiles arms race, its interventionist Eisenhower doctrine—all of which is so highly advantageous to the most bellicose monopoly groups in terms of amassing superprofits.

Leading American monopoly circles and their chief political spokesmen are dragging their feet and setting up one roadblock after another because they realize that a summit conference resulting even in partial agreements—such as to suspend nuclear tests, let alone in a pact to prohibit nuclear warfare, should considerably lessen international tensions. And any substantial relaxation in world tensions would remove the pretext for NATO and SEATO, would make it necessary to scrap the Pentagon's military strategy which is based on nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and warfare, and on an ever expanding military budget; and hence would weaken and set back the drive of the Rockefellers, du Ponts, and others to place their NATO allies in receivership and expand their imperialist dominions.

Two related questions arise: First, Can Washington and Wall Street succeed in continuing to block a summit conference? This is possible for a time, although

developments in the next months, especially a further advance of the struggle for peace, could alter this state of affairs. And here it should be borne in mind that despite its opposition and reluctance, Washington was compelled to confer at the summit in Geneva in 1955, and will find it necessary to do so again.

Secondly, Is America's foreign policy "winning"? Is the course of world relationships and trends such that the possibilities for promoting peaceful coexistence are diminishing or nullified? To this the answer is a categorical no.

Notwithstanding all zigzags, temporary difficulties, and the recurring war threats and dangers engineered by monopoly and by the State Department and the Pentagon, the main line of direction in world affairs is undermining the positions of imperialism and enhances the struggle for peace, national liberation, and social progress. Even a cursory examination of recent international developments underscores this:

(a) For one thing, the tidal wave of national liberation and the struggle against colonialism has swept from Asia to Africa and now to Latin America. Even in the short period since the last meeting of the national committee this great anti-imperialist movement has made noteworthy advances, in the process of which United States foreign policy and influence has suffered a number of new and significant setbacks.

Despite large-scale United States military assistance, and the organization of "volunteers" of KMT mercenaries, Filipino soldiers, and American fliers to aid the rebellion against the Indonesian Republic, plus the provocative deployment of the United States 7th Fleet in Indonesian waters and the pressure of the State Department, to try to compel the Sukarno Government to negotiate an armistice with the rebels—the national unity of the Indonesian forces of independence and democracy, in which the CPI plays a leading role, has been strengthened, and the Republic of Indonesia has crushed the backbone of the American-inspired revolt.

Notwithstanding the intrigues of Anglo-American imperialism, the United Arab Republic has been formed, an anti-imperialist union which is consolidating its independence and security and is undermining the privileged positions of the imperialist powers.

In Lebanon the growing struggle for national sovereignty and Arab freedom and solidarity continues despite extensive American military aid to the pro-western regime of Chamoun and the grave threat of direct Anglo-American military intervention in the internal affairs of that country. A powerful national front of all opposition parties has come into existence, and a united and effective political and armed struggle is being waged to prevent President Chamoun from extending his term of office in violation of the constitution, and for ensuring a neutralist, anti-imperialist course in foreign affairs, including the establishment of close ties with the United Arab Republic.

The conference of eight independent African States recently held in Accra has taken steps to safeguard their national independence and has pledged to support all African people struggling for freedom, including the Algerian liberation fighters who are now in the forefront of the struggle against colonialism in Africa.

And in Latin America, too—the hinterland of American imperialism—there is a marked upsurge of the movement for national sovereignty and democratic advance. The election results in Argentina, the overthrow of the Venezuelan dictator, Jimenez, the growth of the democratic forces in Colombia and Chile, the heroic struggle against the tyranny of Batista and the anti-Nixon demonstrations—all these testify to the growing anti-Yankee, anti-imperialist sentiment and struggles "south of the border."

This evidences the rising national and popular resistance to United States interference in the internal life of the Latin American Republics, as well as the mounting opposition to the encroachments of the United States oil, mining, and fruit corporations on their sovereignty, wealth, and living standards—all of which has been aggravated by the catastrophic effects of the economic crisis on their economy and welfare. This is undermining still further the imperialist colonial system, including the positions and prestige of American imperialism.

(b) Then, too, there is the growth of the peace forces in virtually all countries, including the United States. In the western nations this is especially marked in Great Britain, West Germany, France, and Italy, where the movement for banning H-tests, for East-West negotiations and in support of the Rapacki plan for an atom-free zone in Central Europe has assumed nationwide proportions, involving not only the Communists and other organized partisans of peace, but also the British Labor Party, the German Social Democrats, and millions of Catholics. And in the recent elections in Italy and Greece the Communists and Left Socialists made noteworthy political advances at the expense of the parties of clerical and

monopoly reaction, all of whom are supported by the State Department and the American trusts.

(c) Another factor of special significance which is beginning to exert a profound influence on world developments is the worsening economic situation in the West. The severe economic crisis which has developed in our country, the end of which is not yet in sight, is now spreading. The indications are that it will shortly engulf the entire capitalist world.

Those nations which are more or less dependent on United States markets, on United States quotas, tariffs and price fixing—especially those which produce and export, primarily raw materials and semifinished goods—already have been severely hit. This includes the nations of Latin America and most of Southeast Asia, as well as Pakistan and India. Moreover, a serious economic decline has begun in Great Britain, France, and West Germany, and in Canada and Japan it is more advanced.

This developing world economic crisis, taking place on the heels of the accentuated general crisis of capitalism, is sharpening all inter- and intra-imperialist contradictions, as well as the class struggle within each country. One of the consequences of this is an intensification of the struggle among the members of NATO for markets and spheres of influence, plus a new impetus to expand East-West trade.

In respect to the latter issue, there is for instance the recent enlarged trade agreement entered into by West Germany and the U. S. S. R., as well as the efforts of the British and Japanese industrialists to extend further the list of nonembargoed goods available for export to the East. Together with this the differences and rifts within NATO are multiplying, evidenced in part at the recent Copenhagen sessions of NATO where most of the 13 small nations represented there insisted that the preparations for a Summit Conference should be continued and speeded up.

(d) In contrast to the developing economic crisis in the West and the decline of imperialism, the Socialist countries are experiencing greater prosperity and registering further advances in industry, science, and culture. The launching of Sputnik III which is 100 times larger than the Explorer and the Vanguard reveals one aspect of Socialist achievement.

But the fact that total industrial production in the U. S. S. R. increased 11 percent in the first quarter of 1958 as compared with 1957, whereas industrial production declined in our country over 11 percent during the same period—is no less dramatic and significant. In China industrialization is also growing by leaps and bounds. During 1959, for example, the output of coal in People's China will surpass that of Great Britain. And at the recent meeting of the Economic Mutual Assistance Council of the members of the Warsaw Pact, attended by the representatives of four other Socialist countries, far-reaching accords were reached providing for a more effective division of labor, specialization in production and coordination of long-range Socialist planning.

This will stimulate further the economic growth of each Socialist country and strengthen the Socialist system as a whole. Even such avowed enemies of socialism as the Dulles brothers have been forced to acknowledge, if belatedly and in a distorted way, how the scales have shifted in the spheres of peaceful economic, technological, and scientific competition between the two social systems.

At the same time the consistent peace policy and the series of new peace initiatives taken by the lands of socialism, including the steadfast efforts of the U. S. S. R. to promote East-West negotiations at the summit; the historic decision of the Soviet Union in unilaterally suspending nuclear-weapons tests; the solidarity and support rendered the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, etc.; the latest decision of the members of the Warsaw Pact to cut their armed forces by an additional 419,000—bringing the reduction of their armed forces to 2,477,000 since 1955; the withdrawal of the Chinese volunteers from Korea, etc.—all this has advanced the cause of world peace and national liberation. It has had a profound effect in the countries of the West and among the uncommitted nations. It has strengthened the social system and enhanced the political influence of the Socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union.

The aforementioned developments evidence beyond a shadow of a doubt that what is new in the international situation is *not* the recurrence of imperialist war threats and the periodic inflaming of tensions in the world, such as is now taking place. What is new is the fact that the world relationship of forces are such, the strength of the forces of peace and socialism are such, that the aggressive imperialist bloc is now prevented from going "hog wild." And when the imperialist camp does embark on aggression, such as in Egypt, or resort to crude imperialist

interference as in Indonesia, then it is repulsed and receives new and major setbacks. What is outstanding in world affairs is the fact that the overall conditions operating for a reduction in international tensions and for waging an ever more effective struggle for peaceful coexistence and for national freedom and social progress are becoming—whatever the ups and downs—more, not less, favorable.

* * *

Finally, I'd like to examine, if only sketchily, some facets of the peace movement and propeace trends within our own country.

It is no state secret that the struggle for peace in the United States has not yet reached the dimensions, militancy, or clarity of the peace movements of a number of other countries, including that of India, Italy, Japan, or Great Britain. This is not unrelated to the fact that within our country the virus of anticommunism still poisons large sections of the labor and liberal movements; that the trade-union movement remains divided and that the working class has not yet emerged as a decisive and independent class-conscious force in national affairs; that the growing struggle for Negro freedom lacks adequate labor support and leadership; that our Communist Party has not yet, on the whole, overcome its isolation; and that generally the widespread popular opposition to monopoly reaction remains by and large disunited and without a clear-cut perspective.

Nonetheless, this unsatisfactory state of affairs should not be allowed to obscure the fact that something big and important in the struggle for peace is beginning to unfold in our country. A new and promising trend and movement for peace is gathering momentum and has a great potential.

Stimulated by the decision of the administration to proceed with the Atomic Energy Commission's current nuclear tests program in the Pacific, by the menacing increase of radioactive fallout, and by the peace initiative of the U. S. S. R.—as well as because of the impact of the economic crisis and the militant moods of important sections of labor and the Negro people—a nationwide movement has developed demanding the cessation of nuclear tests and the prohibition of nuclear warfare.

Unfolding unevenly and with many diverse forms of expression, this mass movement is expanding and is exerting considerable political influence. In the past few months alone, national and regional conferences of Lutherans, Unitarians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Negro Baptists have renewed their demands for a halt to nuclear tests. The Federation of American Scientists has coupled its renewed plea for suspending A and H bomb tests with an effective exposure of the ABC's hoax that atomic explosions are nondetectable, as well as has signaled the rising danger of strontium 90 and carbon 14.

Quakers, pacifists, the Women's International League, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and numerous educators and students' groups have organized mass petitions, scores of mass meetings and demonstrative actions protesting the continuation of H-bomb tests and the atomic missiles race. A number of trade unions and leaders—although still far too few—have joined one or another phase of this activity, as has the National Association of Social Workers. Certain conservative industrialists, bankers, and politicians—like Cyrus Eaton, Marriner Eccles, and Senator Fulbright have expressed themselves publicly in a similar vein.

In New Jersey 10 out of 14 Democratic candidates for Congress have gone on record favoring an end to nuclear tests, as have 41 legislators in the State of Washington. And in a number of States and congressional districts independent candidates have come forward with a peace program, sometimes contesting major party primaries as in Washington, Illinois, and Indiana, other times running as nonpartisan independents as was the case of Holland Roberts in California who secured over 425,000 votes as a candidate for superintendent of public instruction on a platform of education for peace and democracy. In many instances, and notwithstanding all inadequacies, our party and many of its members have made modest but effective contributions, have displayed considerable political initiative in helping promote and advance one or another front of this promising struggle for peace.

During the past months there have also been other notable manifestations of the growing peace sentiments and activity in our country. The latest Gallup Poll reports that 69 percent of the American people now favor the convening of a Summit Conference. As a result of the initial exchanges of American and Soviet artists, educators, scientists, athletes, editors, farmers, and industrial managers, there is now coming to the fore a popular demand for the East and West to compete in solving the vexing problems of health, disease, and longevity, as well as to expand credits and aid to the underdeveloped countries. And slowly but surely additional labor and business spokesmen are beginning to speak out demand-

ing an increase of East-West trade to cope with some of the pressing problems of the economic crisis, with the issues of jobs and markets.

Symptomatic of the present situation, and highly important, is the fact that new divisions and fissures are developing in the ranks of big business over various aspects of American foreign policy, trade, foreign aid, and taxes. Sometimes this expresses itself along partisan lines, although more and more frequently it manifests itself in pointed intraparty struggles.

Indicative of this are the publicized differences between Dulles and Stassen and between Acheson and Kennan on the question of East-West negotiations and on the proposal to "disengage" American-Soviet Armed Forces in Central and Western Europe. Illustrative too is the position of such staunch Republicans as Cyrus Eaton of Cleveland and Ryerson of Inland Steel—spokesmen of the Cleveland-Chicago monopoly grouping—who do not go along with the Dulles-line and the Gaither and Rockefeller proposals for taking more "calculated risks," as well as for expanding United States military expenditures to the level of \$70 billion annually by 1968. Symbolic also are the differences within the Democratic Party, such as between Dr. Hans Bethe (chairman of the President's Ad Hoc Committee On Nuclear Testing), and Admiral Strauss, over whether to suspend nuclear tests.

Also indicative is the position of Marriner Eccles, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, who in a speech before the Institute of Industrial Banking on June 19, 1958, advocated that the United States should suspend nuclear tests, recognize China and trade freely with the Socialist countries. Likewise there is the stand of Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, who declared on June 20 that the concept of "mutual nuclear deterrence" was falacious and a national peril, and who urged that the administration should recognize "that American bases near Soviet territory were a valid cause for Soviet alarm," and that the Government "should take a more flexible position in negotiating this and wider issues."

These rifts and disagreements in the ranks of capital and its major parties which are accelerated by the economic crisis, are bound to increase in the coming period. And these can play an important, if indirect role in helping effect a positive change in America's foreign policy—providing the organized strength, unity, and intervention of the popular forces in the struggle for peace, democracy, and security are considerably reinforced.

Toward this end, and to advance the peace struggles of the American people generally, I would like to stress, even if only in capsule form, several interrelated propositions:

(1) Greater attention is required to help coordinate and clarify, as well as to broaden, the existing peace movement which is quite diversified and uneven in the level of its development and the forms of its activity. Everything should be done to expand all activity designed to halt nuclear-weapons tests—the area of widest agreement among all peace forces—and to systematically combine this with the struggle to outlaw nuclear-weapons and warfare and with the demand for East-West negotiations at the summit. In this connection much more can and should be done by the organized peace forces, separately and collectively, to exert in numerous ways their growing political influence in the congressional elections. And there it should be borne in mind that the clarity which labor achieves and the headway it makes in the struggle for peace will provide one of the keys to advance the political independence and influence of labor and its allies.

(2) The problem of how to activate and involve substantial sections of labor and the mass organizations of the Negro people in one or another aspect of the fight for peace must be viewed as one of the most challenging and basic tasks confronting the left and all peace forces. An effective approach to solving this vital question seems to lie along the lines of stepping up and combining in many-sided ways the struggle for jobs and security with that of promoting East-West trade negotiations, as well as for nuclear disarmament and recognition of China. It seems to lie along the lines of connecting more effectively the struggle for Negro rights with the struggle for peace and national liberation in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. It seems to lie along the lines of broadening the exchange of East-West delegations to include trade union and Negro delegations, as well as the representatives of artists, scientists, educators, and industrialists.

(3) More thought needs to be given on how to unfold the organizing and political initiatives of the left and progressive forces, inclusive of us Communists. This is necessary in order to help spark and spur on broader united-front peace activities. This is urgently required in order to help ensure that there will be a more timely and effective popular response to such incidents as the Nike explo-

sions in New Jersey and the accidental dropping of the A-bomb in South Carolina. This is needed to help mount an ideological counteroffensive of America's progressive peace forces and to answer with greater dispatch in words and deeds the innumerable cold-war moves and the demagogic maneuvers of Dulles and the State Department. This is required to help stimulate timely and appropriate expressions of solidarity with the peoples of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela, Indonesia, Lebanon, and Ireland, France, and Algeria; and to popularize and acquaint the American people with the activity and policies of the peace forces of all countries, especially of the Socialist lands.

(4) In the struggle for peace and democracy our party needs to display greater boldness and initiative in bringing forward its own views and independent position. It needs to do this in conjunction with waging a more determined effort to unfold its united-front policy and to search out the ways and means in every area and mass movement of helping crystallize the sentiment and prerequisites for forging a broad antimonopoly alliance or combination.

One of the central responsibilities we face in this respect is to develop further, popularize more widely, and to boldly and more skillfully implement our ideas and policy of a people's antimonopoly program for jobs, civil rights, and peace—a program of action to enable labor, the Negro people, and the farmers to cope more unitedly and effectively with the acute problems arising from the economic crisis, the crisis in desegregation and the crisis in and bankruptcy of United States foreign policy.

What we Communists do in the coming months to help stimulate and influence the mass activity and movements of the left, progressive, and other democratic forces in the elections, in the economic struggles, and the defense of collective bargaining and union rights, in the battles for civil rights and liberties, and in the struggles for peace—can help promote a democratic and peaceful solution of America's crisis, can hasten the trend towards a progressive and an antimonopoly political realignment.

Even though we are a small party in a big country, and live and work in the center of imperialist reaction, we American Communists are confronted with gigantic responsibilities. We can discharge our obligations to our class and nation if we strengthen our ranks and mass ties, expand our independent activity, augment our Marxist-Leninist vanguard role and develop the broadest mass policy, free from right opportunist as well as left sectarian influences.

Recognizing that the issue of peace or war is the overriding issue now confronting the American people and mankind, let this meeting of the national committee resolve to mobilize our party to make new contributions, new advances in the struggle for a democratic America in a world at peace.

EXHIBIT No. XVI

ON THE WORK AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY

(By Bob Thompson)

(Report to National Committee, June 28, 1958)

The February meeting of our national committee was correct when it singled out the deepening economic crisis as the decisive feature of the American scene. In the 4½ months that have elapsed since then, the impact of this crisis on all facets of national life, and above all its ever-expanding consequences for the working people and youth, have taken clearer shape.

Already severe inroads have been made on the wage and living standards of the working class as a whole. Caught in the scissors of growing layoffs, virtual elimination of overtime pay and spreading parttime pay on the one hand, and rising living costs on the other, real take-home pay has been sharply reduced. Management efforts to intensify speedup and break down work conditions have become general. At the same time there are several million families in which the bread winner is totally without employment. Of these a large part, either ineligible for unemployment compensation or having exhausted their compensation, have been reduced to a level near the despised relief standards of the 1950's. In some predominantly Negro communities, which, as is always the case, have been hardest hit, this is beginning to approach a ratio of 1 out of every 5 families.

A new situation is being imposed on the trade-union movement. There are no longer as many crumbs on the negotiating table. The big corporations see in the crisis an opportunity for a union-busting spree. The situation in auto is a

graphic illustration of this. Today defense of all unions against monopoly and governmental attacks takes on great importance and must be central in our party's program. At the same time there is arising an imperative necessity for a clean-cut break with business unionism. The old philosophy, the old tactics, the old methods of leadership can no longer, under present changing conditions, produce results. Objective conditions call for the rise of a new, militant unionism—a unionism that will work to pit the united strength of labor against the monopolies; that will work to organize the South; that will enlist the support of the Negro people, the youth, and of antimonopoly allies among farmers, professionals, and the middle class. The times demand a bold political perspective—a perspective of rapid, sweeping intervention of labor in national politics; of increasing direct representation in all legislative and executive bodies; of struggles to break the stranglehold of the machines in the two capitalist parties over National, State, and city politics; of a fundamental political realignment in the course of the period now opening up involving the emergence of a new People's Party in which labor plays a leading part.

It is a matter of great positive value that the working class still has within its living experience the memory of the major economic crisis which began in 1929. The impact of that crisis brought great rank-and-file pressures to bear on the union-bureaucracy; it stimulated the emergence of a powerful left current of which our party was the heart; it created conditions which facilitated an alliance between this left and forces seeking a middle course, thereby breaking the dominance of the Green-Woll-Hutcheson conservative wing and making possible such historic advances as the organization of the unorganized and the formation of the CIO. On the political field also labor made significant advances, becoming a part, although all too subservient and nonindependent a part, of a great majority coalition around Roosevelt which on some of the major issues confronting the Nation and world, gave a progressive direction. As a result, while the crisis- and depression-filled 1930's were years of immense privation and hardship for the working people, the working class nevertheless emerged from them in a greatly strengthened position.

Today we have passed over the threshold into a new period of a serious cyclical crisis different in character from those that developed in 1949 and 1953. Basic class attitudes and relationships will be profoundly affected. How will the working class emerge from this crisis period? What will its status be in the Nation? Will it emerge as a weakened, or even a defeated class? Or will it emerge with the status of a class that has taken long strides toward its rightful place as leader of the Nation?

This large question is the center of our party's concern as it drafts its program for the period ahead and shapes its labor policy.

Comrades, the February meeting of our national committee pledged that our party, which has been without a defined labor policy for almost a year and a half, since its 16th convention, would at this June session be equipped with such a policy. This is the central and decisive task before this meeting.

Tomorrow a Draft Labor Policy statement will be presented for your consideration and action. This draft is in a large sense the product of three party regional trade-union conferences held respectively on the west coast, in the Midwest, and the east coast. It is estimated that through these conferences, and through a series of additional meetings, a minimum of 200 active comrades actively engaged in shop and trade-union work participated in an organized way in shaping the estimates and policies that have gone into this draft. This is in its own way a modest, but by no means an unimportant, accomplishment. Its impact on our party has been to establish a healthier outward orientation toward mass work and class problems and to put a damper on sterile factional bickering. It has had a stimulating effect on the activities of party forces in a number of shops and unions. (I would add as an aside, comrades, that the character of the discussions around this draft labor policy statement should be some measure of reassurance to those sincere comrades who are fearful that a byproduct of our February meeting might be the growth of undemocratic methods within our party.)

It is my opinion the Draft Labor Policy statement which will come before you tomorrow is a substantial document. As it stands now, without the improvements you will undoubtedly make in it, I would say that it gives our party a strong and generally correct political and tactical line in this most vital area of its work.

When this national committee completes its work on it tomorrow, and adopts it as I am confident it will, a landmark of great importance will have been passed in the rebuilding of our party. Without a sound labor policy and tactical line our party doesn't amount to a hill of beans insofar as ability to influence the course of

events is concerned. With such a policy and tactic it can do a great deal even with its present reduced strength. What is more, the basis will exist for a rapid rebuilding of our party's strength and influence in the shops and locals.

The adoption of a national labor policy will at once confront this national committee with additional tasks, and give the solution of these tasks a new urgency. Central among these is the developing of methods of work, and of a leadership structure, that will guarantee a far higher level of sustained attention and direction to party trade union policies and activities.

Now if one examines what took place in the Garment general strike; what is happening in a number of areas in the auto, steel, packinghouse, and distributive industries; and the hard and careful concentration activities in a number of other industries; then it is possible to find evidence of an improved situation with respect to some important phases of party trade-union work.

In some areas this improvement is more visible. One of these is the manner in which our party is reacting to the unemployment problem. Our party is beginning to speak out effectively on this issue in the Worker, through its national leaflets, through a number of excellent State and local leaflets and publications, and through an increasing number of mass meetings. In a number of important unions, and in some area union conferences, party forces as a part of the growing Left have been able to play a tangible and constructive role in the shaping of union programs and activities on the unemployment issue. Another such area has been our party activities in the fight against antilabor, so-called right-to-work legislation, particularly in California and Ohio.

All of this, and much more that could be added, is welcome evidence of the improving political health of our party, of the fact that it is overcoming the state of internal paralysis that fenced it off from workers and their problems and struggle.

We take note of these modest improvements in party activity in the trade-union field, of this healthy trend, not for the purpose of manufacturing some basis for complacency. Lord knows one would have to look through a powerful magnifying glass to find any such basis. Our purpose is the exact opposite. It is to establish the fact that these positive developments are being retarded because the national leadership has carried over from the recent past a lot of baggage with respect to methods of work.

This will not be changed overnight. Changing it will be a process. It need not, however, be a long-drawn-out process. In order to secure an improved caliber of Party leadership of our forces in the shops and unions, I suggest we undertake the following objectives in the period between this and our next N.C. meeting.

For the decisive heavy industry region surrounding the Great Lakes, a party coordinating committee should be established. Operating under the N. E. C., its purpose will be to give sustained and on-the-spot assistance to the State organizations in the region in the development of party activity.

A network of three regional trade union commissions—Midwest, west coast, and east-coast—shall be established to operate under the coordination and direction of the N. E. C.

The function of labor secretary will be undertaken by a competent comrade.

Questions of direct concern to comrades active in shops and unions must predominate in the agendas of all leading committees.

There must be an increase in the number—and I hope also the quality—of reports and articles elaborating party policy on problems confronting the labor movement.

Comrades, if this national committee meeting equips our party with a strong and sound labor policy, and at the same time takes the necessary measures to strengthen the daily leadership of party activities in this field, it will lay the basis for some very important advances in the coming months.

YOUTH

This economic crisis is confronting today's generation of youth for the first time with the most fundamental of all questions. This is the same question which in a different setting was paramount for the youth generation of the 1930's. It is the question of whether or not they can find a place for themselves in the productive life of the Nation. During the whole of their growing-up period, today's youth have had dinned in their ears that they as individuals were assured such a place if only they would on an individual basis comply and conform to the stereotype of a good American so largely drawn by the McCarthyites. They are now confronted with a situation where these answers don't ring true even on the surface. The basic pressures operating on the graduating classes this year are toward collective

action, not individualism. The problems they confront demand group struggle, not individual compliance. The questions they want answers to demand rebellious, searching, social thought, not individual conformity. It is the corporations that have closed their doors to the youth. Youth must turn to labor to pry them open. It must turn to labor for initiating the formulation and enactment of youth legislation, going beyond the aid given by youth legislation of the New Deal period. The fully valid concept of a labor-youth alliance must be restored. Above all, youth must turn to itself, with the fullest support and assistance of all progressive working-class forces, to find the forms that will rapidly bring forth an organized left in its ranks; and together with this the forms that will promote its unity as a progressive social force in the Nation.

For some 2 or 3 years now it has been fashionable in our party to bemoan the advancing age level of our membership. I think the time has come for us to stop moaning and to start doing something. If we start paying some really serious attention to the youth and their problems, they in turn will pay attention to us.

What is it possible for our party to do here and now in this field?

Well, the first thing that is possible for us to do is to keep clearly in mind a fundamental fact of life. This is that there is a tremendous gap—I am almost tempted to say chasm—in the life experience of class-conscious and Marxist workers of the age level of 35 years and over and the healthy, militant members of today's younger generation. They are products of two radically different social periods. The proposition put forth by Lenin that the old can never tell the young to tread in its footsteps is today true, doubled in spades.

This revisionist idea that our party is an old and a senile party is for the birds. Our party is basically a party of the youth, for its science deals with that which is new and growing in the social and political life of our country. There is a deep-going, rebellious, and pioneering spirit in this young generation of ours, and it is greater, not lesser, than that of past generations. A hundred years ago a Horace Greeley could undertake to give a geographical direction to this pioneering spirit of the youth with his battle cry: "Go West, young man, go West." Today this pioneering spirit can be given no geographical direction. It must seek a political direction, it must pioneer social and political frontiers. To be a Horace Greeley in 1958 one must raise the battle cry, "Go Marxist, young man, go Marxist."

Our party has a great role to play among today's youth. It has a vision of the future, a depth of class-consciousness, a wealth of experience in the rough-and-tumble of class struggle, which they, the youth of this generation, desperately need. It cannot fulfill this role if it sets out to preach to the youth. It cannot start out by telling young people, "Look, we did such and such in the past and you do so and so in the present." We must start out on a different basis. We must start out by listening to young people, by seriously undertaking to understand what is different in their life experience, by undertaking to assist, not boss.

Keeping this in mind, what is it possible for this national committee to undertake between now and its next meeting in order to begin the development of a party program and activity in the youth field?

To one degree or another, we can help see to it that the Marxist press and journals begin a systematic policy of carrying analytical articles and news stories dealing with problems and events of special concern to the youth.

We can begin the development of a conscious cadre policy toward young people in and around the party. Let us give priority to listening to them and talking with them. Let us be as helpful as we can be in stimulating and assisting in the formation of youth study circles that in one form or another will grapple with the content of Marxist-Leninist thought.

Let us become conscious of the fact that there already exists a wide variety of youth groupings in which young Marxists play an important part. Some older Marxists, such as Herb in New York and Flo in Chicago, who have not forgotten the truism that the future belongs to the youth, could tell us something about these groupings. They range all the way from study groups and young explorer social clubs through chorus groups and bowling clubs. No party club or section should be satisfied with its work unless it has a real connection with a grouping of young people of this character in its area. Perhaps in a year's time there will be 100 or 125 such youth groupings throughout the country. Perhaps on the basis of their own experiences they will decide to convene a national conference and establish a forward-looking Socialist-minded youth organization.

A number of young people, some in and some close to the party, are already very active in attempting to shape Marxist policy in the youth field. Let us get together with these forces on an organized basis. Let us set our sights for

a limited party national conference on youth policy for sometime in September.

Comrades, this meeting of our national committee is, so to speak, starting from scratch with respect to a youth policy and program. It will take some time and experience before it can produce one. Let us make a start in this direction along the lines indicated. Youth has a way of asserting itself. If we oldsters take the hook off the latch, they will force the door open, and let us be secure in the knowledge that this door will lead forward, not backward.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT.

The economic crisis is having a massive impact on the Negro people's movement. Already there are signs of a fuller and more prominent participation in it of the Negro working class and of the more advanced and militant quality this will impart to it. The national reception given Paul Robeson's book is an expression of this. So also is the new status achieved by such great figures as Paul Robeson and W. E. B. DuBois in the Negro community. It finds expression also in the new quality of the revolt that is taking place in Negro communities against the old-line political parties and machines. It was this that led to the victory of Turner in New Jersey. It was this that led to the massive revolt against the old-party machines in Harlem around Powell, which is in effect a declaration of independence from the old-party machines and carries great meaning for the Negro people's movement nationally and for the labor movement as well. The further impact of the crisis on the Negro people's movement will undoubtedly not only lead to a greater participation of working class forces in its leadership, but will bring about a greater stress on those economic and political issues felt most pressingly by Negro workers, thus further advancing the character of this movement.

The Negro people's movement of today bears on it both the imprint of the special national oppression of the Negro people, and the imprint of being part of the rising tide of worldwide, anticolonial and liberation struggles of the colored people. Its path forward lies in alliance with the entire working class of our country. These special characteristics determine, however, that this alliance must be on a new basis of partnership and that the Negro component of this alliance will exert a new measure of initiative and trail blazing.

Our party needs a fresh theoretical appraisal of the status and path of development of the Negro people's movement. A serious beginning has been made on this. Comrade James Jackson has given a provisional report on this subject to the N. E. C. and will lead a discussion on it at a National Negro Commission meeting on the Monday following this N. C. session. We should be prepared for a full-dress and definitive handling of this important question by the time of our next N. C. meeting.

In addition to resolving certain basic theoretical concepts pertaining to the status and course of development of the Negro People's movement, there are a number of other problems that we must address ourselves to in the period between this and our next N. C. meeting.

Let us in a realistic and down-to-earth manner survey the adequacy of our party's programmatic demands and activities, section by section, with respect to Negro working families, in the fields of job discrimination, unemployment compensation, welfare, and housing.

Let us undertake to guarantee that in every section of the labor movement in which Communists exert an influence there will be raised in the next 6 months in 1 form or another 2 demands:

1. The right of Negroes to register and vote in the Southern States, and
2. The need for a new initiative to expand unionism in the South.

Let us begin to assess the status of our party in a few key areas such as Harlem Bedford-Stuyvesant, the South Side in Chicago, Cedar Central in Cleveland. What contacts do we have and what movements do we influence in these areas of Negro majority in the North?

POLITICAL ACTION

The effects of this economic crisis are particularly far-reaching, because, starting with the United States, it is rapidly becoming a crisis of the world capitalist system. In addition to imposing great hardship on the working people of all the developed capitalist countries, it is throwing into chaos the economies of those less developed countries that are dependent on a capitalist raw-material market. It is developing at a moment when the Socialist sector of the world is buoyantly

moving from one economic success to another. The Socialist sector is giving real aid on a vast scale to a growing number of countries. It has already surpassed the capitalist world in a number of areas of education, technology and scientific advance. It has already surpassed large areas of the capitalist world in absolute standards of well-being for its people and is rapidly approaching the point where it will compete on a per capita basis with the output of the most advanced capitalist Nation, the United States. Under these conditions, the outbreak of a serious economic crisis such as the present one carries implications for the future of world peace and capitalism far different from the one of 1929.

In the 1930's imperialism had a bigger say in the world. It could attempt the solution of its ills by launching a series of so-called little wars of aggression against relatively defenseless countries—China, Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia. It could bring fascism to power at those points where the working class most threatened it. It had the power to and ultimately did resort to world war.

This is a different period of world history. It is a period in which world imperialism has lost much of its power to shape events. With respect to "little wars," the outcome of the attempted aggressions in Korea and in Indochina, the Suez fiasco, and now the Algerian deadlock and the events in Lebanon, testify to this. The heroic struggles of the French working class led by its Communist Party, and of the French people, developed so well in the report of Comrade Dennis this morning, is proving that there is no easy road to power for fascism in this period. At the same time the growing strength of the Socialist camp and above all of the Soviet Union makes the prospect of a Third World War increasingly uninviting.

The impact of the crisis on certain imperialist forces in the United States will no doubt be to intensify efforts to find a war solution to their problems. It will not, however, increase their ability to find such a solution. On the contrary, the basic impact of the crisis will be to increase the tempo with which the relationship of forces on a world scale is changing in favor of peace and socialism. It will be to further impose the condition of peaceful coexistence on the imperialists as the framework within which the problems of the capitalist world must be met. Increasingly deprived of ability to impose a war solution, the monopolists are at the same time inherently incapable of a peaceful solution for that can be found only along antimonomopoly lines. It is this situation which poses before the working class the great democratic task of this period—the assumption of leadership in the fight for an anti-monopoly coalition capable of imposing on the monopolies a solution to the people's problems.

The 1958 elections have already become an important arena of struggle on many of the important issues confronting the people. There are clear indications that both labor and the Negro people's forces are participating more actively and more independently than has been true in recent years.

Labor's participation in the California primary campaign was an outstanding example of this. So also is the greatly increased number of direct labor candidates in Michigan and throughout the Midwest. The revolt against both of the old party machines that took place around Powell is an important indication of the new moods that are arising among the Negro people.

Our party is becoming more active in all of these situations. The presentation of a party legislative program has been helpful in this. Of greatest importance is the fact that its electoral policy is taking clear shape nationally and in the various States.

Three propositions form the broad framework within which this policy is developed. These were stated by Arnold Johnson in his article on the 1958 elections in the June 1958 Political Affairs:

"(a) To do everything possible to influence the election in the interests of the people.

"(b) To promote ever greater independence of labor and its allies and a broad people's coalition policy based on the workers, the Negro people, farmers, and all democratic forces.

"(c) To bring forward the party and its program, strengthen its influence and build it in the course of the campaign."

BUILD THE WORKER

The period since our February N. C. meeting saw the last desperate efforts of Gates and his revisionist cohorts to transform the party crisis into a catastrophe. The key objective of this effort was to force the liquidation of the Worker, thus eliminating a national Marxist press in the United States

and clearing the road for their projected new Marxist publication and movement. In this effort they were ably assisted by the so-called ultra left—by certain fanatical dogmatist factions who chose this moment to intensify their efforts to sabotage party mass work and press-building efforts.

Comrades, at this meeting of our N. C. it is possible to announce with assurance that this effort to eliminate a Marxist press has failed. It failed. It failed because our party accepted the challenge and fought back as no other party save a Communist Party can. There was one period where our New York party raised \$20,000 in 3 weeks' time to prevent the paper's collapse. Certain State organizations, such as Illinois, Minnesota, and Michigan, responded with effective special efforts to build circulation. Some of the reviving morale and fighting spirit of our paper was expressed in the willingness of the paper's staff to go 4 and 5 weeks without pay and of the willingness of the comrades in the national party center to drop 7 weeks behind in their wages so that the paper could survive.

This party fight for the Worker has paid off. It has not missed a single issue. Despite drastic reductions in its staff, its quality has greatly improved. In relation to key problems confronting the working people, it is displaying ability to develop sustained campaigns. It is developing the ability to effectively expound Marxist ideas and to defend Communist policies and organization. It has expanded its total circulation by roughly 2,000 since our February meeting.

This meeting of our N. C. should also commend the staff of the People's World, the California district of our party, and our Washington and Oregon State organization, for the successful fight they have put up to maintain and develop the People's World.

We can see a clear perspective ahead for establishing a growing circulation base and an expanding sale for the Worker. It will still take, though, a lot of hard work—an immense effort—to realize that perspective.

The current fund drive must be carried through to full success.

A district press apparatus must be organized in each State.

Above all, the Worker must begin to be used more fully in every phase of our party's mass activities, in every campaign it mounts or participates in. The Worker is the chief direct contact between our party and the masses, its chief instrument for overcoming isolation.

BUILD PARTY MORALE—ROUT REVISIONISM

We stand today on the threshold of a period of great change. It is this prospect of a fluid and changing period in American life that makes so imperative the rapid rebuilding and activation of our party. This understanding of the vital and large role of our party must permeate and inspire our membership. It is the foundation on which party morale is built. It is the basis for party consciousness, the highest expression of class consciousness.

Revisionist concepts have eaten deeply into this foundation. It is necessary that the damage be undone. This is especially the case because some of these concepts, which have in recent months been taking a beating on the American scene due to the harsh realities of life and an improving political climate in our party, may be encouraged anew by the open banner of revisionism hoisted on the international scene by the Yugoslavs.

The fountain source among American Marxists of revisionist concepts of the role of our party is a set of closely interrelated propositions put forth at various stages of the internal party struggle by the Starobin-Fast-Gates-Clark cabal. These are:

1. Marxism is outdated and has lost its validity as the advanced science of the working class.

2. The Communist Party has become an obstacle to socialism and social progress.

3. What exists in the Soviet Union, China and the other Socialist lands is "something other than socialism."

This is revisionism in its crudest and most vulgar dress. Our party has passed beyond the point where such concepts receive toleration, let alone are accorded legitimacy.

The problem is that revisionism has a rather extensive wardrobe. As the political-theoretical health of our party improves, its attire changes, it becomes more sophisticated and subtle.

The formula for such change runs somewhat as follows:

It is no longer possible to shout in strident tones as John Gates used to do that Marxism is outdated. All right, we recognize this. Let us then say the same thing in a different way. Let us say in sweet and gentle tones that Marxism is the

greatest of all possible sciences in this greatest of all possible worlds, but that this of course does not mean that it has any universally valid principles, or that the 12-party statement defining these principles is correct.

One no longer gets a hearing when one says that the Communist Party is an obstacle to the achievement of socialism and social progress. All right, let's put the idea differently. Let us say that the Communist Party is the most wonderful organization produced by this most wonderful of all possible countries and that the reason for this is that it can now eliminate itself by contributing to the formation of a new kind of organization, based on different principles.

It is no longer possible to say that the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, North Korea, and Vietnam are not building socialism. Well, this is really unfortunate. But let us not be downhearted. Let us say without hesitation that these are the most wonderful of all countries in this most wonderful of all worlds. But then let us add, that the main thing about these countries is that they persist in doing the wrong things, at the wrong times, in the wrong ways, and that this, of course, is the source of the war danger.

This does not, of course, exhaust the trappings of revisionism. Perhaps mention should be made of one other. I have in mind, for example, the oft-repeated proposition that now that we have a strong trade-union movement, we don't really need a party because after all this trade-union movement itself is raising the necessary demands. "Why do we need a party," it is said, "to demand 25 cents more than a union is demanding? Why do we need a party to demand a 30-hour week when many unions are demanding a 35-hour week?" This, of course, is a caricature of the role of our party, a revisionist caricature. Our party's great function is not that of taking note of, and then adding to, immediate demands of the unions and other working-class bodies. Of course, there do arise situations where our party in its own name raises immediate demands that go beyond those being put forward by other organizations. Such is the case today, for example, in the legislative field where our party in its legislative program has raised and has undertaken to popularize demands with respect to the unemployed and the right to jobs that go beyond those coming from other quarters. This is a valuable and a useful thing and one aspect of the role of the party. It is not, however, the central function of our party. The central function of our party is that it is the only organization on the American scene which, on the basis of an advanced science, understands the totality of the workings of the capitalist system and of the relationship of the classes within it. It is the only organization in a position to properly relate the present level and immediate demands of the working class and its allies with the historic and objectively determined goals of that class. It is the only organization because it is a *party of its class* which is in a position to give comprehensive direction and a broad orientation to the left and progressive currents arising out of the immediate struggles of the period. Our party is not a party of one segment of the working class. It represents the interests of the whole class in its activities in all facets of national life, in its activities in relation to the trade union movement, the Negro people's movement, the youth movement, the women's movement, in the electoral field. It brings into the working-class movement, the youth movement, the women's movement, the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism, and imparts to the working class on the basis of its own experience and struggles a Socialist consciousness.

Can our party meet the large challenge posed by the period that lies ahead?

This meeting of our national committee must give a qualitatively different answer to this question than has been forthcoming in the past. It must do so on the basis of the general line of our 16th convention and the decisions of our February national committee meeting.

Many a time in recent months, I have heard George Blake in clipped and cultured tones proclaim his lack of confidence in our party. Casting himself in the role of a political Hamlet and using to the full the prestige that goes with national committee membership, he wandered on and off the stage of party meetings proclaiming his inability to decide the question of whether this Communist Party of ours should or should not be. I have heard others who are still members of this national committee perform in a like manner.

Now, Comrades, I say we must have done with this. I say this national committee must put a stop to such goings on, must have done with them once and for all.

Confidence in the Communist Party and its future is nothing other than the highest political expression of confidence in the working class and its future. For a Marxist, there is no such thing as confidence in one without confidence in the

other: If there are such comrades who hold a contrary view—who hold a view that it is possible for a Marxist to lose confidence in the Communist Party and still retain confidence in the working class—I ask that you put your views on the table at this meeting. Develop a theses to this effect and we will debate it openly before the party. I say no such theses can be developed without abandoning even the pretense of Marxism. I say further that the undermining of confidence in our party and its role and the gutting of its fighting working-class spirit is the very essence of revisionism as it has been developed on the American scene.

Now some may say we are trying to force confidence down the throats of members of this N. C. and that confidence is something that can't be forced on anyone. This national committee can do little or nothing to force confidence in the party and the working class on any one of its members who have lost that confidence. It can, however, do something else: It can, and in my opinion must, end the fiction that one can lose such confidence and still retain the ability to lead the party and the working class. This meeting of our national committee must reestablish beyond the shadow of doubt, as its February meeting stressed, the basic Marxist concept that confidence in the future of the working class and of its Communist Party is the most fundamental of prerequisites for real leadership of the Communist Party and of the working class. It must reestablish the concept that the function of leadership is to build up the morale and the fighting heart of the organization and that to undermine and destroy that confidence is a crime against the party and the working class. Our party has many real weaknesses. These weaknesses must be approached from the viewpoint of overcoming them, not exploiting them. The improved political health of the party and the beginnings that are being made in constructive mass activities provide a sound basis for confidence in our party's future.

In this connection it is necessary to bear in mind that during the past several years when our party began to correctly to enfold a resolute struggle against the deep-seated concepts, practices, and habits of left-sectarianism and doctrinarism, there developed a powerful and most damaging revisionist tendency.

The chief disruptive phenomenon in our American party during the recent past has been the rise of a powerful revisionist tendency and the achievement by it, for a period of time, of a status of semi-legitimacy in our ranks despite the struggle conducted against it. It would be the gravest error, however, to conclude from this that somehow the deeprooted danger passed by dogmatic and sectarian currents in our ranks, which have their base in objective revisionism—like sectarianism—has abated or lessened. On the contrary it has grown.

The fact is that revision against dogmatism, especially some of its most fanatical and extreme variants, has been a factor which influenced many staunch party comrades who never agreed with the essence of Gates' revisionist views, toward becoming enmeshed in his grouping. Conversely, many staunch comrades, out of revulsion against the rampant revisionism of the Gates forces, and at inadequacy in the party's struggle against this revisionism, have tended toward dogmatism, and in some instances have even become enmeshed in fanatical factional groupings.

What is the political face of dogmatism in our party today? Ideologically and politically, what does it stand for? In essence it represents an effort to revert back to a pre-seventh congress, pre-1935, class against class, programmatic position. It would have our party ignore the great changes wrought by an epoch of Socialist victories and great class and peoples' struggles. It would ignore the phenomenon of the rise and existence of the threat of fascism and of consequent necessity of the working class pursuing a line of popular and peoples' front alliances. It would ignore the New World role of the Soviet Union and of the cast changes in relationship of forces on a world scale and in individual countries which open new forms and possibilities for social progress and advance toward socialism. It would ignore the important changes that have occurred as a result of the growth of the unions and the Negro people's movement in our country.

These factional groupings of dogmatists have been flooding our party with tracts on the Negro question, the trade-union question, the peace question, etc. Examine what they say in them and you will find that the central theme of everything they say is that the be-all and the end-all of revolutionary policy today is reverting to the pre-seventh congress class-against-class line. This is not a policy for our party or our class. It is not Marxism. It is political and ideological bankruptcy.

This underscores the validity of the way the February N. C. meeting placed the need for a two-front struggle against revisionism and dogmatism. The resolution which it adopted states:

While vigorously opposing and consistently striving to overcome sectarianism and doctrinarism, we must also relentlessly combat the ideas and positions of revisionism. Without a decisive repudiation and defeat of the revisionist trend in our ranks we cannot carry on a systematic and effective struggle against left-sectarianism and dogmatism which have plagued us for decades and with which we are at present so deeply afflicted, and we cannot build our party as a Marxist organization and surmount our isolation. It is in this sense, and in the spirit of our convention and its injunction to work to end our isolation that, in the words of the convention resolution, "the struggle must be conducted on both fronts, with the main emphasis against that which threatens the Marxist line of our party at the given moment." This will, of course, vary from one situation to another. Moreover, this struggle should be waged so as to help overcome the historic weakness of the American Marxist movement—its sectarianism and doctrinarism.

END FACTIONALISM—HALT PARTY WRECKING

The February meeting of our national committee laid the basis for the breaking up of old alignments in our party. This is the process that has been taking place. A new, a decisive, and a growing majority has emerged in our national leadership and in most of our State organizations. This new majority has the adherence of staunch party comrades associated with all past party trends. Its political solidity is founded on the explicit and unequivocal conviction that this Communist Party of ours has a vital and growing role to play in current struggles, and that its future—and the future of its science, Marxism-Leninism—is in the historic sense synonymous with the future of our class and country. It is a majority willing to fight uncompromisingly and with working-class enthusiasm for our party against all attackers. It will fight against the opportunism and party-wrecking activities of the revisionists, and against the opportunism and party-wrecking activity of dogmatic factionalists.

What has happened to these erstwhile leaders who continue today to adhere to the revisionist ideas associated with Gates? Many scarcely bother to appear any more at meetings and expound their bankrupt views. They have entered a new stage in their degeneration. They devote themselves to attempting to organize coups d'état such as—the public resignation of the California 26. They devote themselves to trying to demoralize individual members, clubs, or sections. They plant scandalous lying stories in the capitalist press. This handful has entered into and is now engaged in party wrecking.

What has happened to the hard core of dogmatic factionalists? For all practical purposes they have joined hands with the revisionist party wreckers. They sabotage all party activities and mass work. They refuse to support the Worker. They proclaim a policy of nonconfidence in our party and its future. They attempt to organize themselves and conduct themselves as a party within a party.

There was a time when Gates and Clark and Fast et al, were running rampant when our party couldn't do much to defend itself against factionalism. Well, that day is past. Our party is in the process of regaining its solidity as a Marxist-Leninist organization. This process has reached a point where it has the capacity to declare war on factionalism no matter what direction of the political compass that factionalism comes from—whether from the direction of revisionism or the direction of dogmatism.

The NEC of our party presented a line on this question of factionalism which was contained in the interview I gave to the Worker on May 4. Between this and our next N. C. meeting practical measures should be undertaken to carry this into effect. Let us undertake to move against and eliminate all significant factional groupings and all dual centers of leadership during this period.

LET US BE GARDENERS—NOT UNDERTAKERS

Let us at this N. C. meeting take a fresh look at our party—at the direction in which it is moving—at its mass activities and at its inner life.

I would urge that we do so not from the viewpoint of the undertaker surveying his neighborhood for business purposes. Let us not be too obsessed with those negative things which still exist, but which are in essence the carryovers of a past period, and which are in the process of elimination and death.

I would rather urge that we adopt the viewpoint of the gardener. Let us consciously undertake to search out and pinpoint the new, the healthy, the productive things in our party's activities and inner life. Let us give leadership to cultivate and stimulate those trends and activities so that in the shortest order they become the predominant characteristics of our party in all phases of its work.

The most important part of the picture of our party's current activities and status will come in the discussion. It will come from comrades in districts, and shops, and sections, who in life are putting an end to a period of sterile internal dissension in party affairs and are helping the party in their areas to grapple with the real problem confronting the working people of their shop and community.

This is a period in which the need for our party is becoming increasingly manifest. Objective conditions are favorable for a rapid rebuilding of our party's influence and courage. At the same time our party's political health has improved to the point where it has a real capacity to take advantage of the new possibilities opened up by this objective situation. I think confidence that we are going to move forward from this N.C. meeting into a period of party growth is fully justified.

INDEX

INDIVIDUALS

A	Page
Acheson (Dean).....	109
Alexander, Charlene. (See Mitchell, Charlene.)	
Alexander, Herschel William.....	32
Alexander, Horace V.....	29
Allen, James.....	85
Arkin, David Francis.....	32, 33
Ashe, Harold.....	5, 6
Atinsky, Jerry Julius.....	33

B	Page
Baefsky, Leo.....	33
Baron, Louis.....	21
Baskin, Dorothy Rose. (See Forest, Dorothy Rose.)	
Batista (Fulgenci).....	106
Beck, Dave.....	63
Benson, Elizabeth. (See Spector, Elizabeth Leach Glenn.)	
Bethe, Hans.....	109
Biber, Stella (nee Choyke; Mrs. Henry J. Biber).....	33, 34
Biskar, Ethel (nee Hoffman; Mrs. Herbert Morris Biskar).....	34
Biskar, Herbert Morris.....	34
Biskar, Marvin.....	34
Bittelman, Alex.....	86
Blair, Helen.....	35
Blair, Naomi Claire "Nan".....	8, 35
Blake, George.....	117
Blough, Roger.....	58
Boyd, Rose (born Rose Rubin).....	35
Briggs, Cyril Valentine.....	36
Brodsky, Seymour Douglas.....	36
Browder (Earl).....	84
Bröwn, Arthur.....	24
Bulganin.....	104
Burton, Bernard.....	19
Byler, Margarete Ann (Mrs. Albert E. Byler; nee Haller).....	36

C

Carlson, Frank (born Solomon Scolnic).....	21, 24, 25
Carlson, Lillian (Mrs. Frank Carlson) (born Lillian Dinkin).....	21, 25
Cate, Dorothy.....	21
Chamoun (Camille).....	106
Chandler (Norman).....	58
Choyke, Stella. (See Biber, Stella C.)	
Churchill, Winston.....	VI
Clark (Joseph).....	116, 119
Cohen, Aaron K.....	36, 37
Cohen, Kalman.....	37
Cole (Ruth).....	61
Cole, G. D. H.....	86
Connelly, Philip Marshal "Slim".....	37
Cranston, Allen.....	60, 62
Creed, Thomas.....	29, 30
Crowe, Cornelius Charles "Neil".....	30
Czezelnitzki (Chelnick), Schewe. (See Silver, Sophie.)	
Czernin, Rachmiel. (See Kusnitz, Rose Chernin.)	

	Page
D	
Dawson, Admiral George	37
de Gaulle (Charles)	101
de Lavallade, Adele Rose. (See Young, Adele.)	
Dennis, Eugene	28, 57, 84, 86, 100, 115
Dobbs, Ada (Mrs. Ben Dobbs; nee Ada Martin)	21, 37
Dobbs, Ben	4, 16, 30
Doroshkin, Sadie Schindel. (See Tomkin, Sadie.)	
DuBois (W. E. B.)	114
Duclos (Jacques)	85, 100, 101
Dudgale, Bert O.	38
Dulles, Allen	64, 65, 104, 107
Dulles, John Foster	64, 65, 103-105, 107, 110

E	
Eaton, Cyrus	108, 109
Eccles, Marriner	108, 109
Eisenhower (Dwight D.)	65, 68, 72, 102-105
Ende, Alex.	38
Enfajian, Edward M.	38
Engels	19, 57, 86

F	
Fast, Howard	116, 119
Fink, Herbert (also known as Herbert March)	38
Flores, Francisca. (See Lym, Frances.)	
Forest, Dorothy Rose (Mrs. James Frederick Forest; nee Dorothy Rose Baskin)	8, 39
Forest, James Frederick	30, 31, 39
Foster (William Z.)	28, 49, 86
Freed, Emil	39
Freed, Tashia Hirsh (Mrs. Emil Freed)	39
Fuchs, Lawrence	72
Fulbright (William J.)	108, 109

G	
Gaither	109
Gates, John	85, 86, 115, 116, 118, 119
Gavron, Joe	21
Gladstone, Charles	40
Goldman, Shifra (Mrs. Albert Goldman; born Shifra Meyerowitz; also known as Shifra Meyers)	40
Goldner, Sanford	40
Goldstein, Beatrice ("Bebe")	21, 25
Gosman, Lorris	4
Gosman, Mollie (Mrs. Lorris Gosman; nee Mollie Wilinsky)	41
Green (William)	111
Gutman, Ellie. (See Henrickson, Ellie.)	

H	
Haller, Margarete Ann. (See Byler, Margarete Ann.)	
Healey, Dorothy Ray (Mrs. Philip Connelly; born Dorothy Rosenblum; also known as Dorothy Ray)	4, 8, 9-14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 27-29, 42, 52, 57, 83
Henrickson, Ellie (Mrs. Stanley William Henrickson; nee Ellie Gutman)	41
Henrickson, Stanley William	41
Herdon, Angelo	73
Hirsh, Ben	39
Hitler (Adolf)	71, 73
Hoffman, Ethel. (See Biskar, Ethel.)	
Horthy (Miklos)	13, 64
Hunt, Harry Simon (born Harold Schlasberg)	42
Hutcheson (William)	111

I	
Ishihara, Sakae	42
Ish-Kishor, Ephriam	31
Ish-Kishor, Nehemiah. (See Sparks, Neimiy.)	

INDEX

iii

J

	Page
Jackson, Elizabeth Ricardo (nee Smith)-----	21, 42
Jackson, James E.-----	17, 57, 84, 86, 88, 89, 91, 114
Jiminey (Marcos Perez)-----	106
Johnson, Arnold-----	115
Josephson, Jessie Eileen-----	42, 43
Josephson, Julius-----	42

K

Kadar (Janos)-----	64
Kaganovich (Lazar)-----	85
Kaplan, Celestè Strack (Mrs. Leonard Kaplan)-----	21, 25
Kaplan, Leonard "Kappy"-----	21, 25
Karr, Ben-----	43
Karson, Morris R. "Red" (born Moishe Karszon)-----	43
Karszon, Moishe. (See Karson, Morris R. "Red".)	
Katz, Eli-----	43, 44
Kenegsberg, Ruth. (See Smith, Eleanor.)	
Kennan (George)-----	109
Khrushchev (Nikita)-----	28, 65, 87, 104, 105
Kishner, Sophie-----	21, 27
Klonsky, Robert-----	25, 26
Knowland (William F.)-----	103
Kovner, Fay. (See Mukes, Fay.)	
Kovner, Julius-----	44
Kuppersmith, Bertha. (See Marshall, Bertha.)	
Kurland, Estelle Shirley. (See Parness, Estelle Shirley.)	
Kusnitz, Rose Chernin (Mrs. Paul Kusnitz; born Rachmiel Czernin)-----	44
Kykyri, John-----	44, 45

L

Lawson, John Howard-----	14
Lenin-----	19, 21, 65, 83, 84, 87, 91, 92, 95, 113
London, Sidney (Sid)-----	21, 45
Lusher, Bernard-----	17, 18, 31
Lusher, Rosemary Haskell (Mrs. Bernard Lusher; born Rosemary Wylde)-----	7, 45
Lym, Frances-----	26

M

Macmillan (Harold)-----	65
MacNair, Archibald Lamont, Jr.-----	45, 46
Maletier (Pal)-----	104
Mao Tse-tung-----	87
March, Herbert. (See Fink, Herbert.)	
Marshall, Bertha (born Bertha Kuppersmith)-----	46
Martin, Ada. (See Dobbs, Ada.)	
Marx, Karl-----	19, 21, 57, 69, 83
Maymudes, August-----	46
McCarthy (Joseph R.)-----	72
McWilliams, Carey-----	71
Meyerowitz, Vivian. (See Vallens, Vivian.)	
Mindszenty (Joseph)-----	13, 64
Mitchell, Charlene (nee Alexander; Mrs. William H. Mitchell)-----	16, 31
Molina, Matilda. (See Tolly, Matilda Berry.)	
Molotov-----	85
Monjar, Elsie M.-----	46
Monroy, Solomon P.-----	46
Mosley, Charles H. Jr., "Chuck"-----	47
Mucha, Peter-----	47
Mucha, Reva (Mrs. Eugene Zwolinski; born Reva Mucha)-----	7, 47
Mukes, Fay (Mrs. Richard Mukes; born Fay Kovner)-----	47

N

Nagy, Imre-----	18, 28, 64, 100, 102, 104
Newman, Horace Morton (Mort)-----	21, 26
Newman, Lois (Mrs. Horace Morton Newman)-----	21
Nixon (Richard M.)-----	106

P

	Page
Pacifico, Ola (Mrs. Laurence M. Pacifico; born-Ola Ross)	48
Padilla, Felix	48
Pape, Edith W. (Mrs. Leon Pape; born Edith Weiner)	48
Pape, Leon	49
Parness, Estelle Shirley (Mrs. Jacob Parness; nee Kurland)	49
Perry, Pettis	28, 49
Powell (Adam Clayton)	114, 115

R

Rafalow, Philip	21, 26
Rakosi (Matyas)	64, 104
Rapacki (Adam)	106
Ray, Dorothy. (See Healey, Dorothy.)	
Richmond, Al	74
Roberts, Holland	108
Robeson, Paul	114
Robinson, Mark	27
Rockefeller (Laurance S.)	109
Roosevelt (Franklin D.)	72, 111
Rosenblum, Dorothy. (See Healey, Dorothy Ray.)	
Ross, Ola. (See Pacifico, Ola.)	
Rubin, Rose. (See Boyd, Rose.)	
Rybakoff, Ruth Rose. (See Utrecht, Ruth Rose.)	
Ryerson	109

S

Sarnoff, Irving	50
Sazer, Henry	50
Scottsboro	73
Shepilov (Dmitri T.)	85
Silver, Sophie (born Schewe Czezelnitzki (Chelnick))	50, 51
Siminoski, Sophie (Mrs. Abe Siminoski; born Sophie Smorodin)	51
Smith, Eleanor (Mrs. Ernest Carl Smith; born Ruth Kenegsberg)	51
Smith, Elizabeth. (See Jackson, Elizabeth Ricardo.)	
Smorodin, Sophie. (See Siminoski, Sophie.)	
Snell, Martha. (See Wheelidin, Martha Hard.)	
Sparks, Nemmy (born Nehemiah Ish-Kishor)	31
Spector, Elizabeth Leach Glenn (Mrs. Frank Spector; nee Benson)	21, 51
Spector, Frank (born Frank Efrion Spector)	21, 52
Stachel (Jack)	100
Stafford (Edith)	61, 62
Stalin	18, 19, 86, 87, 93, 104
Starobin (Joseph)	116
Stassen (Harold)	109
Steinberg, Bessie (Mrs. Henry Steinberg)	27
Steinberg, Henry Carl	21, 26
Steinberg, Max (born Max Steinberger)	52
Steinberger, Max. (See Steinberg, Max.)	
Strack, Celeste. (See Kaplan, Celeste.)	
Strauss (Lewis L.)	109
Sukarno (Achmed)	106

T

Talbot, William Wallace	52
Thompson, Bob	28, 57, 86, 110
Tinglof (Mary)	62
Tito	28, 102, 103
Tolly, Matilda Berry (Mrs. Joe Tolly; nee Molina)	52, 53
Tomkin, Sadie (Mrs. Abe Tomkin; born Sadie Schindel Doroshkin)	53
Turner (Irvine)	114

U

Utrecht, Henry Steven	53
Utrecht, Ruth Rose "Chickie" (Mrs. Henry Steven Utrecht; nee Rybakoff)	53

INDEX

v

V

	Page
Vallens, Vivian (Mrs. Leon Vallens; nee Meyerowitz)-----	54
Varela, Delfino-----	54

W

Weiner, Edith. (See Pape, Edith.)-----	
Wells, Wesley-----	64
Wereb, Stephen-----	14
Wheeldin, Donald C-----	27, 28
Wheeldin, Martha Hard (Mrs. Donald C. Wheeldin; Martha Snell)-----	27
Whitley, Frank J-----	54
Wilinsky, Harry-----	41
Wilinsky, Mollie. (See Gosman, Mollie.)-----	
Wilkinson, Frank-----	7
Willet, George Laurence-----	54, 55
Winter, Carl-----	32
Woll (Matthew)-----	111
Wylde, Rosemary. (See Lusher, Rosemary Haskell.)-----	

Y

Young, Adele (born Adele Rose de Lavallade)-----	55
Young, Charles. (See Gladstone, Charles.)-----	
Young, Clarence George (alias "Clay")-----	55

Z

Zhukov (Georgi K.)-----	85
-------------------------	----

ORGANIZATIONS

A

AFL-CIO-----	59, 68, 69
American Civil Liberties Union Southern California-----	8
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born-----	64
American Peace Crusade, Southern California Peace Crusade-----	7
American-Russian Institute (Los Angeles)-----	7, 45, 47
Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO-----	68
Local 230-----	29

C

California Emergency Defense Committee-----	39, 48, 54, 55
California Legislative Conference-----	29
California State Committee on Text Books-----	63
Chrysler Corp-----	59
Church Federation of Southern California-----	63
Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms-----	7, 8
Civil Right Congress-----	7
Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy-----	108
Communist International-----	16
Communist Party, France-----	101
Communist Party, Indonesia-----	106
Communist Party, Soviet Union, 20th Congress-----	85, 86, 102
Communist Party, U.S.A.-----	1-3, 15, 28, 76, 89, 91
National Structure:	
National Committee-----	4,
8, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 31, 49, 59, 71, 100, 110, 111, 117-119	
Executive Committee-----	28, 100, 102, 112, 119
National Negro Commission-----	114
Sixteenth National Convention, February 9-12, 1957, New York City-----	11, 17, 60, 62, 64-66, 79, 83, 86, 87, 90, 117

Communist Party, U.S.A.—Continued

District Organization:	Page
District 13.....	3
Northern California District.....	2, 3
Southern California District.....	1-120
Bay Cities Section.....	4, 43
Beverly-Fairfax Section.....	4
Boyle Heights-City Terrace Section.....	4
Building Trades Section.....	4, 38
Centinella or 46th Assembly District Section.....	4
Constitution and Organization Committee.....	5, 78-83
Convention, April 13-14, 1957, Los Angeles.....	4; 8-14, 57-66, 74, 82, 83
Cultural Section.....	4
District council.....	4, 8, 15, 16, 24-29, 33, 35-40, 42, 43, 46-50, 52-55, 76, 77, 81-83
Executive Board.....	4, 27-32, 49, 77
East Hollywood Section.....	4
Echo Park Section.....	4, 38, 48, 51, 55
Fifty-seventh Assembly District Section.....	4
Fifty-eighth Assembly District Section.....	4
Harbor Section.....	4
Jewish Commission.....	12, 40, 74
Labor Commission.....	17, 29, 30
Minorities Commission.....	27, 29, 54
Miscellaneous Industrial Section.....	5, 45
Monterey Park Section.....	5
Moranda Smith Section.....	5
Needle Trades Section.....	5, 40, 43
Orange County Section.....	5, 38
Pasadena Section.....	5
Professional Section.....	5
San Bernardino County and Riverside County Section.....	5
San Diego County Section.....	5
San Gabriel Section.....	5
Santa Barbara County Section.....	5
Valley 21st Section (21st Congressional District, San Fernando Valley).....	5
Valley 22d Section (22d Congressional District, San Fernando Valley).....	5
Ventura County Section.....	5
Watts-Compton Section.....	5
Whittier Section.....	5
Youth Commission.....	15, 16, 31, 34, 38, 40, 46
Zapata Section.....	5, 35, 36, 41, 54
State Organization:	
California State.....	1-3
Los Angeles County.....	4
Los Angeles County Convention, January 5-6, 1957, Los Angeles.....	79
California State Convention, January 19-20, 1957, Los Angeles.....	59, 74
California State Coordinating Committee.....	31, 49
New York State.....	1, 116
Communist Party, Yugoslavia, Seventh Congress.....	101
Community Service Organization (East Los Angeles).....	43, 60

D

Democratic Party, California.....	62, 68
Democratic Clubs.....	60, 62
Downtown Club.....	7, 8

E

Eastside Defense Committee.....	25, 43
Economic Mutual Assistance Council.....	107
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.....	7
Emergency Press Committee.....	29

INDEX

vii

	F	Page
Federation of American Scientists	-----	108
Free Press Auxiliary	-----	53
	G	
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies'	-----	43
Golden West Lodge of the Elks	-----	63
	H	
Hugh Gordon Book Store	-----	55
	I	
Independent Progressive Party	-----	7, 8, 78
Independent Progressive Party, Downtown Club	-----	35
International, II	-----	65
	J	
Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order	-----	53
	L	
Long Beach Antidiscrimination Committee	-----	53
Long Beach Peace Council	-----	53
Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International	-----	53
(Los Angeles) Committee for Better Schools	-----	61
Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born	-----	7, 44
(Los Angeles) Council of Mexican-American Affairs	-----	60
(Los Angeles) County Conference on Human Relations	-----	10, 61
Los Angeles County Progressive Youth League	-----	34
(Los Angeles) Jewish Community Council	-----	60, 71
	M	
Maritime Book Store	-----	54
Marxist Institute of Los Angeles County	-----	48
	N	
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	-----	59, 69, 97-100
National Association of Social Workers	-----	108
National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Southern California Chapter	-----	7
Needle Trades Committee for Peace	-----	50
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)	-----	100, 101, 105, 107
	P	
Peoples Forum of Long Beach	-----	53
Progressive Book Shop	-----	52
Progressive Party	-----	67
	S	
Servicemen's Defense Committee	-----	48
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association (AFL-CIO)	-----	38,
Shifra Goldman Study Group	-----	40
Socialist Labor Party	-----	63
Socialist Party	-----	101
Socialist Party, France	-----	101
Socialist Workers Party	-----	46
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)	-----	105
Southern California Committee Against Renazification of Germany	-----	48
Southern California Council To Abolish the Un-American Committee	-----	45, 48
Southern California People's World Committee	-----	75
Stockholm Peace Petition	-----	67
	T	
Trade Union Action Conference for Peace (Los Angeles)	-----	48
Trade Union Defense Committee (Los Angeles)	-----	48

U

	Page
United Labor Committee (Los Angeles).....	48
United Nations, Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary.....	103
U.S. Government:	
Atomic Energy Commission.....	108
President's Ad Hoc Committee on Nuclear Testing.....	109
United States Steel Corp.....	58

W

Wells Defense Committee.....	43
Wesley Wells Campaign Committee.....	64
West Side Committee Against Renazification of Germany.....	39
White Citizens Councils.....	69, 70, 90, 99
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.....	108

PUBLICATIONS

Daily People's World.....	24, 27, 29, 37, 44, 53, 62, 74, 75, 116
Daily Worker.....	85
Diary of Anne Frank, The (movie).....	61
Giant (movie).....	61
Home of the Brave (movie).....	61
Jewish Life.....	74
Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder (book).....	87
Lydia Bailey (movie).....	61
Pacific Coast Youth Recorder.....	55
Quiet American (book).....	61
Worker, The.....	115, 116